

Monday August 3 1998

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The Guardian

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12 pages of unrivalled sport coverage

Sport
Hakkinen stretches title lead

Madeleine Bunting

For real UK politics go to the Muslims and Catholics

Comment, page 8

Finance

Small firms plead for life

Page 12

'Tour de Farce' ends

Italian's victory tainted by drug scandal

Paul Webster in Paris

THROUGH the late afternoon rain clouds a weak sun shone as the 85th Tour de France ended yesterday, the only bright spot in the three-week event in which the overall winner, Marco Pantani of Italy, took second place to a scandal over drug use.

Heavy rain had soaked the cobbles of the Champs Elysees as the cyclists started the final circuits watched by a smaller than average crowd, their subdued mood a striking contrast to the festive on the same avenue that greeted France's World Cup football win three weeks ago.

While race organisers congratulated the first Italian winner of the race for 33 years, conversation at the downbeat closing ceremony concentrated on whether the tour would go ahead next year. Several non-French teams, rattled by police investigations and frustrated by riders' strikes, say they will not take part next July in what the press has labelled the "Tour de Farce".

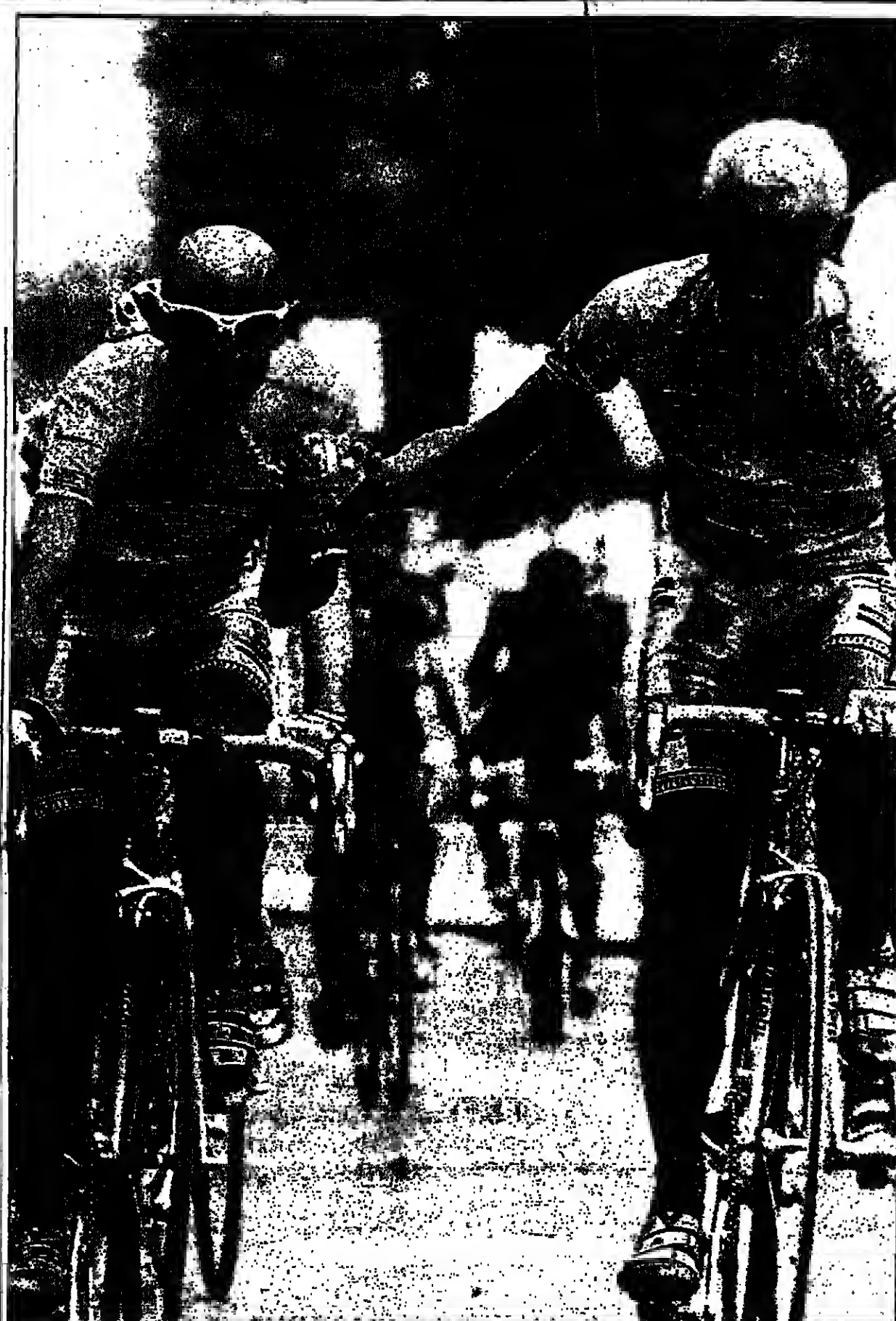
Their example is being followed by leading sponsors, who spend up to \$2 million to back crack teams. Police have hinted that a number of riders are ready to act as informers after the race, while some end-of-season competitions have been cancelled because more raids are coming.

Sports writers did their best to re-inject enthusiasm into the shattered competition, but the most significant post-race analysis was carried out by sports doctors, shocked by the growing use of dangerous drugs that directly or indirectly forced seven of the 21 teams to pull out of the race.

An Italian racer, Rodolfo Massi, was arrested for alleged drug dealing and other top riders and team managers have been detained and interrogated.

Calls for a radical overhaul were supported by the former European Commission president, Jacques Delors, who urged strict new regulations to ensure that "neither cash nor miracle cures pollute the vast sporting world".

A terrifying picture of competitors being crippled or even killed by drugs now



A team-mate congratulates Marco Pantani (left) on winning the Tour de France yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: LAURENT REBOURS

in use throughout professional and amateur cycling was revealed by Gerard Nicolet, a member of the French Cycling Federation's executive and a former chief doctor to the tour.

"The practice has become generalised and very worrying," he said, adding that the French federation had

issued a full-scale doping alert a year ago. "Among amateur riders, the idea that drugs are essential to reach a high level is now well anchored. They say they have no choice even for a little village race."

Dr Nicolet cited cases of heart problems, thrombosis, hepatitis, chest diseases and strokes had been diagnosed

and he was certain that there had been several unreported deaths in the past two or three years. A new substance called perfluorocarbon, PFC, was being produced in the United States, despite warnings that it was "terribly dangerous".

Police intend to question the chairman of the French

Cycling Federation, Daniel Béal, and the managing director of the Tour de France, Jean-Marie Leblanc, over concerns that cycling executives might have turned a blind eye to practices dating back at least 30 years.

The Pirate climbs to greatness, Sport page 15

Runaway MI5 agent faces trial

Richard Norton-Taylor

THE former MI5 officer David Shayler was locked up in a Paris jail last night awaiting extradition hearings after the Government dramatically raised the stakes in its attempt to prevent him from making further disclosures about the activities of Britain's security and intelligence services.

He was arrested late on Saturday night, hours after Richard Tomlinson, a former officer of MI6 — the overseas intelligence agency — was arrested by French security police on an international warrant issued by the British authorities.

The extraordinary series of events unfolded as the Government confirmed that John Morris, the Attorney-General, had taken the highly risky decision to prosecute Mr Shayler for alleged breaches of the Official Secrets Act. It was reported yesterday that Mr Shayler had been planning to publish details of an alleged plot to assassinate the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

In a booklet published last week, MI5 insisted it did not kill people "or arrange their assassination". However, the Intelligence Services Act protects MI5 agents who commit acts abroad with ministerial authority which would be illegal in Britain.

Mr Shayler, aged 32, was arrested in a Paris hotel by three plain clothes police officers returning from a nearby bar to watch his football team, Middlesbrough, on television. Annie Machon, his girlfriend, said yesterday: "All they [the police] would tell me was that he was going to the Ministry of Interior."

Mr Tomlinson was arrested at gunpoint on Friday afternoon at a different hotel shortly after speaking on the telephone to Ms Machon. "It was like a full SAS assault," he told the Guardian yesterday. "Police burst into my room, three were in the corridor, and two outside with an ambulance. I have a badly cracked rib."

He travelled to France without a passport last week, a few days before his parole conditions were due to end following his release from



David Shayler: 'never aimed to damage national security'

spoken to her about British defence interests." Mr Tomlinson said: "It is completely untrue. I just want to go to New Zealand." Special Branch took his laptop computer though it contained nothing secret. He said he had no intention of pursuing plans to write a book about MI6 — he was jailed last year for sending a synopsis to an Australian publisher.

A Home Office spokeswoman declined to comment on the circumstances that led to Mr Shayler's arrest. She insisted that Mr Morris had taken the decision to prosecute him some time ago and it was not related to any new allegations.

Under a European convention, the French authorities have 40 days to make a decision on extradition. Isabelle Chauvin, deputy public prosecutor at the Parquet de Paris, the French public prosecutions office, was reported last night as saying that Mr Shayler would remain in custody pending a decision. He is in the main Paris jail, the Prison de la Santé.

John Wadham, his lawyer and the director of the civil rights group Liberty, said extradition would be fought. "The attempts to bring him back to Britain are the result of a mess which is of the British authorities' own making."

He told BBC's Breakfast With Frost that no jury would convict him. Mr Wadham said Mr Shayler never intended to damage national security. "The French authorities should not therefore extradite him."

See next page, page 5; Leader comment, page 9

Angola rebels provoke crisis in diamond trade

Smuggling allows Unita to rearm as fears grow of market collapse

Don Ackerman in Antwerp

THE spectre of a worldwide crash in gemstone prices loomed this week as it emerged up to 6 per cent of all diamonds are in the hands of Angola's rebel Unita movement, according to a confidential briefing given to European Union leaders.

This is way above previous estimates, and, if correct, makes a mockery of suggestions that Unita has been los-

ing its grip on valuable diamond-mining areas in the war-torn country.

The estimates help to explain the EU's tough decision last week to slap new sanctions on Unita with special reference to diamonds. The level of smuggling currently under way is allowing the movement to rearm and to recruit fresh troops in preparation for an expected resumption of hostilities in the near future.

Not only is the figure of \$360 million (\$235 million)

proof of a smuggling bonanza out of Angola to European centres such as Antwerp, and, to a lesser extent, London's Hatton Garden. It also casts a cloud over figures due later this month from the mining giant De Beers, whose cartel seeks to smooth out fluctuations in the gem market and to keep diamond prices high.

De Beers is in a quandary in the wake of the EU's July 28 sanctions decision. As an operator within the union it is bound not to accept any stones from Angola that are not certified by the recognised government. This ties its hands in operations to mop up illicit or smuggled diamonds, given that it is not

allowed to touch contraband Unita gems.

A spokeswoman confirmed last week that De Beers would not buy any Angolan diamonds that did not carry the appropriate paperwork. Meanwhile, smugglers are shifting huge quantities of the stones out of the Unita area in northern Angola. Some are transported to Namibia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaïre), and even South Africa, where it is possible for them to be falsely relabelled as having originated in those countries.

Others are moved direct to Europe, where they are often traded in backstreet cafes or even on the pavements of Ant-

werp and London. Angola is on some measures the world's third largest diamond producer, and the quality of its stones is excellent.

News of the enormous scale of Unita's illicit diamond trading operation came as the United Nations was desperately trying to keep the two sides apart in Angola. A five-day peace mission began last week.

One of the few rays of light for international peace-makers has been the hope that Unita, having ceded some diamond areas and having been pushed out of some others, was losing its ability to trade diamonds for cash turns to page 2, column 7



| Britain | World News | Finance | Sport | Obituary 10; Weather 4; Comment 5; Crossword 12 |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| <p> The Prime Minister's speech to the House of Commons on the state of the economy. </p> | <p> The UN Security Council has passed a resolution condemning the recent attacks in the Middle East. </p> | <p> The FTSE 100 index closed at 5,120.30, up 15.20 points. </p> | <p> Two goals in the last 20 minutes gave Hearts a 2-1 victory over Rangers in the Scottish Premier Division. </p> | <p> Quick Crossword 24 </p> |
| 7 | 12 | 14 | 14 | 32 |

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Source: Life and Pensions Agency Facts - April 1998



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Public spending watchdog urged to investigate the huge cost of abandoned houses on poorest estates where no one wants to live

Billions wasted on unwanted homes

Peter Hetherington
Regional Affairs
Correspondent

BILLIONS of pounds have been wasted on thousands of council homes in areas where no one wants to live, according to a charity partly funded by the Department of the Environment. The Empty Homes Agency is writing to the National

Audit Office calling for an inquiry into the rising cost of maintaining abandoned houses which cannot be let in some of the country's poorest areas, the Guardian has learned. In a letter to the Comptroller and Auditor General, Sir John Bourn, it says that the cost of securing an estimated 80,000 abandoned council homes in England alone is now around £200,000 a year. Bob Laurence, chief executive of the agency, says the

number of empty homes owned by councils and housing associations — the main public landlords — is now rising remorselessly because billions of pounds have been spent improving areas where no one wants to live. "There are areas in the country where the way money is being spent is little short of scandalous," he said. "Many estates that have been refurbished or built in the last 10 years will be pulled down during the life of this

government because better use can be made of the land they're built on." Over the past five years alone, the number of empty council and housing association homes has risen from 1.9 per cent of total stock to 2.5 per cent. "We anticipate that statistics for this year will show an even more depressing picture," Mr Laurence tells Sir John in the letter. "The increasing number of vacant houses and flats held by councils has led... to escalating

expense in defending and securing empty property and... making good the consequences of arson, theft and damage to the vacancies." England is likely to have 100,000 abandoned public sector homes by the millennium, as well as a rising number of empty Ministry of Defence properties, now put at over 13,000. The true scale of the country's abandoned homes is coming to light because, housing experts say, many com-

mittees concealed figures during the Conservative years, fearing that ministers would cut their budgets. The figures come amid mounting concern over estate modernisation programmes this decade, with at least £4 billion being spent in some of the poorest estates. The Housing Corporation, the government agency that funds most social housing, is threatening to pull out of areas — writing off tens of millions in the process — and

demolish relatively new homes as a last resort. Its chairman, Baroness Dean, the former print union leader, said it no longer made sense to invest in the worst areas "with no foreseeable future". She added: "Where there is no hope we shouldn't invest money. But, of course, we can't simply walk away. The communities in areas without hope are better served by being helped to move to better places to live." She told the Guardian and

Channel 4 News that the problem of empty homes was a new phenomenon, which was concerning her association as well as the Government. Some of the worst estates would probably have to be demolished. With the Government preparing to unveil its New Deal for Communities programme in up to 20 of the worst estates, housing experts are keen to ensure mistakes are not repeated.



Poor lookout... Boarded-up flats in Scotswood, Newcastle upon Tyne, and (right) one of the houses on the estate which remain a dubious proposition despite the recent facelift

PHOTOGRAPHS: CRAIG CONNOR

Where cash was poured into a facelift, but all to no avail

Peter Hetherington on an estate in the North-east caught in a downward spiral

UNTIL recently, it was hailed as a model of estate reformation after rioters burned out houses and shops six years ago. As part of the last government's City Challenge programme, Scotswood had a £15 million facelift, involving the demolition of scores of old houses and the rebuilding of others at a cost of £30,000 each. Roads were landscaped and partially blocked in a series of traffic-calming measures to thwart young joy riders. For added security, closed-circuit television cameras were installed on high pylons at key junctions. But today the estate, in the unfashionable west end of Newcastle upon Tyne, seems to be slipping back to its old ways, with houses boarded up and abandoned.

The picture is much the same in the ghettos of Britain's large cities, and in large estates on the outskirts, where billions of pounds have been spent on modernisation programmes over the past 10 years — often to little effect. This has prompted organisations such as the Housing Corporation, a quango that funds public housing, to consider pulling out of some areas and, implicitly, write off hundreds of millions of pounds by demolishing parts of new unwanted estates. "Where there are areas of no hope, we shouldn't invest money," says its chairman, Baroness Dean, the former print union leader. Although Scotswood has a high turnover of tenants, a report recently put the number of empty homes at 27, approaching one sixth of the es-

tates. This is near the level of "empties" before the start of the City Challenge programme — despite hundreds of homes being demolished. David Butler, Newcastle city council's housing director, says some people are now expressing concern about the stability of the community, few hundred yards from the site of Scotswood's old post office, burned out and demolished in the rioting, the North British Housing Association — an agency funded by the Housing Corporation — completed a block of low-rise flats three years ago. It cost £1.7 million. Yet only 11 of the 50

homes are occupied. The rest are boarded up. "Some have never been lived in," laments Colin Pattinson, the North British regional operations director. "People are voting with their feet in this part of Newcastle. It is much the same in other cities, like Manchester and

Leeds." One of the elderly tenants, Pamela Futers, says: "I love my flat. But it's built in the wrong place. I suppose we might have to move." Like other housing associations, North British, which builds and manages houses from Newcastle to the South-east, says it has pockets of modern, difficult-to-let estates around the country, even in Greater London — the area of the greatest demand. At Scotswood, it is considering several options, from remodelling the flats to "mothballing". "But as a last resort, we might have to pull it down," says Mr Pattinson. Demolition, once again, is on the agenda in Scotswood, and elsewhere. According to Bob Laurence, chief executive of the Empty Homes Agency, a charity

partly funded by the Department of the Environment that campaigns to put empty properties back into use, the Newcastle estate represents the tip of a huge national problem. "There are many estates that have been refurbished, or built, in the past 10 years which will be pulled down in the life of this government because better use can be made of the land they are built on," he says. "Billions of pounds have been wasted on some schemes." Jonathan Blackie, former director of Newcastle City Challenge, admitted there had been unforeseen problems in Scotswood. "Maybe with hindsight we should have been more radical, although we demolished 400 of the houses. There is still a long way to go."

Vexed business elite to hold Watchdog meeting



Janine Gibson
Media Correspondent

THE chairman of 10 of the country's biggest companies will meet in London this week to discuss a problem that unites them. What, they will ask, can we do about Watchdog?

BBC's long-running consumer programme has come under fire from companies such as Ford, Dixons and Airtours, after a series of official complaints about the programme's investigative methods have been upheld. The gathering of the country's business elite shows the level of concern about Watchdog's pursuit of consumer claims. High street retailers, holiday firms and major manufacturers are becoming in-

creasingly disenchanted with the limited redress they are offered, and want the BBC's board of governors to intercede. The programme's controversial use of secret filming and telephone polls are expected to be high on the agenda. Ford's chairman and managing director, Ian McAllister, is understood to have written to the chairman of the programme, Lord Dunsford, after a series of official complaints about the programme's investigative methods have been upheld. The gathering of the country's business elite shows the level of concern about Watchdog's pursuit of consumer claims. High street retailers, holiday firms and major manufacturers are becoming in-

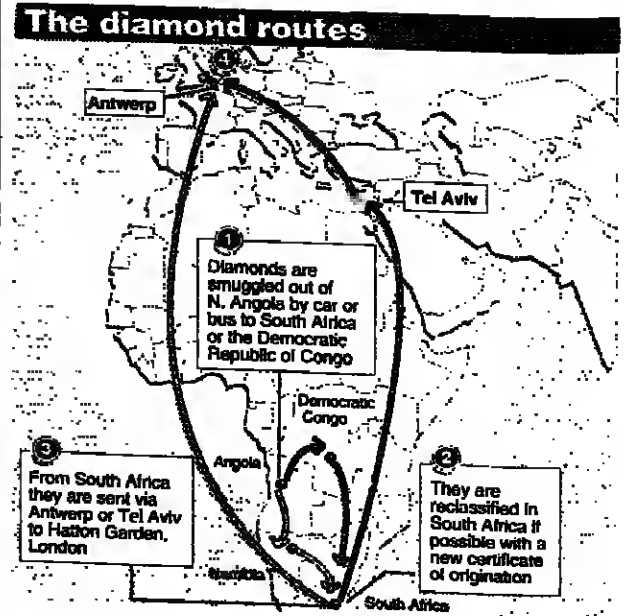
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Angola rebels create crisis in world diamond trade

continued from page 1 that could be converted into weapons of war. Now it seems that hope was misplaced. Last week's EU move followed an alleged massacre committed by UNITA troops. Initially, the Brussels decision surprised observers. Not only was it a unilateral action taken apart from existing sanctions in place since 1993 and supported by the UN and the United States, but it came at a time when President Bill Clinton's government was reportedly "re-calibrating" its foreign policy to rely less on punitive embargoes of this sort. A spokesman in Brussels confirmed that enforcement of the blockade was a matter

for individual member states. Given Antwerp's role as the hub of all European diamond trading, this puts additional strain on Belgium's law-enforcement community. More generally, the prospect of a wholesale collapse in the diamond price could send shockwaves around the world. Not only will jewellers and other players in the business suffer, but millions who have counted diamond jewellery as among their most precious assets would see them lose value sharply. Only if the EU sanctions keep the illicit stones off the market does there seem to be any prospect of stabilising diamond prices in the near future.



Peekaboo aplenty but all this gender-bending can prove a bit of a drag

Review

Tim Ashley

Le Comte Ory
Glyndebourne

SEX and sacrilege are the principal themes of Le Comte Ory, Rossini's gender-bending comedy, first performed in Paris in 1782. It's an ambiguous, wickedly funny piece — at once hedonistic, lascivious and dark — that conjures wryly on sexual stereotypes and analyses

religious credulity with razor-sharp wit. Ory, a randy aristocrat, is hell bent on having his way with the Countess Adele, Adele, who hides her emotions behind an impressive front, has taken a vow of celibacy and lives in semi-cloistered seclusion, though she secretly has the hots for Ory's page, Isolier (the role is sung by a mezzo-soprano in disguise). Determined to break down her resistance, Ory attempts to smarm his way into her all-female circle, posing first as a wonder-working hermit, then as a nun.

The climax of the piece is an astonishing three-in-a-bed trio, in which Isolier, making love to the Countess, is groped in turn by Ory, who believes him to be Adele. The Glyndebourne production, by Jérôme Savary, founder of Le Grand Magic Circus, was considered something of a hit-and-miss affair when it opened last year, and some of its problems remain. The tone, in particular, is uncertain. High camp alternates with stretches of unaccountable ordinariness, especially in the first act. The opera works equally well as knockabout farce or

dark comedy; by steering a course between the two, Savary ends up losing the focus. There are flashes, though, of remarkable brilliance. Savary is strong on charting the awkward terrain where religious imagery, kitsch and blasphemy seem dangerously close; Ory, in his hermit rig, combines the looks of a bogus New Age guru with the subversive Catholic camp of a Pierre Et Gilles painting; his followers, their beards and mustaches peeping from under their nuns' wimples, slurp the contents of Adele's wine cellar in a parody of Leonardo's Last Supper.

He's also good at stressing the opera's peekaboo sexiness, an essential element of its impact in 18th-century codpieces for the blokes, topless chorus girls romping in bath-tubs, and so on. What make the production unmissable are two marvellous performances. French soprano Annick Massis, who plays Adele, is a great artist, her pearly voice, astonishing technique, exquisite sense of line and flawless coloratura unrivalled in this music. Only slightly less impressive is Danish mezzo Hanne Fischer, making her debut,

who sings with a creamy rich tone and fleshes out Isolier's character with a touching warmth that far transcends Savary's constricting caricature. Marc Laho, meanwhile, flings himself into the title role with glee, relishing his multiple disguises, though vocally he takes a while to settle down. The conductor, Yves Abel, has a scrupulous sense of pace and a punchy brilliance; he gets blazing playing from the LFO and there's not a note out of place in Rossini's phenomenal, if devilishly tricky ensembles.

مكتبة الادب



Hillary Clinton (right) talks with film star Kim Basinger, co-host of the weekend's final celebrity fund-raiser in East Hampton on Long Island

PHOTOGRAPH: STEPHEN JAFFE

Clinton swaps scandal for stars

Enclave of the rich coughs up \$2 million to schmooze with America's embattled president

Joanna Coles
in East Hampton,
Long Island

JONATHAN Sheffer had painted his grass green. It was green before but the New York conductor wanted it greener. It's not every day you play host to the president and, understandably given the competition, Mr Sheffer wanted his \$1.4 million (\$850,000) "English barn-house and

pool" to look perfect. And frankly, competition to hold the best fund-raising party in the Hamptons this weekend was fierce. Obviously, there was no point jostling for first place. That had been bagged by the film director Steven Spielberg, who had Bill and Hillary Clinton as house guests in "Quelque Barn", his magnificent 19th-century French-farm building on eight acres. Secured with cameras and high hedges, the Spiel-

berg home was thought to provide the most privacy — though as the news broke that a sample of the president's blood was needed for "genetic testing" in the investigation into whether he covered up an alleged affair with a White House intern, one couldn't help but think the highest threat to the president's security right now is himself. After the Spielberg comp, who took second place? True, the financier Bruce Wasserstein — holding Friday night's festivities in the \$9.5 million (\$5.75 million) Cranberry Dune — could provide a much, much bigger house than Mr Sheffer, with an interior stretching 14,000 sq ft and 27 acres of blissful ocean-front. Cranberry Dune is also of European descent, and older than Mr Sheffer's 110-year-old dwelling, quite a lot older in fact. It, too, is a barn, "a 16th century Scottish barn-house" to be precise, each stone carefully transplanted across the Atlantic and plunked down right next to Billy Joel's house. The music producer Quincy Jones and Donna Karan would also be attending the Wasserstein do (Mr Sheffer had managed to secure Julie Andrews).

The Wasserstein menu listed "smoked salmon in cucumber cup with caviar mouseline, duck prosciutto and white peach chutney on a corn crepe". And that was just for start-

ers. The main course was "lobster, squid salad with Louisiana shrimp served with avocado, hearts of palm and roasted tuna wrapped in bacon with roasted asparagus". (Too busy schmoozing, the Clintons had a quiet supper later at the Spielbergs.) No wonder Mr Sheffer, founder of the Kos Chamber Ensemble, and his partner Christopher, a doctor, plumped at his Saturday cocktails for a simple platter of "salmon, pecan chicken and prosciutto". Besides, the Wasserstein tickets were each \$25,000 (\$15,150) whereas Mr Sheffer had kept the price down to \$5,000 (\$3,030). But then he had invited more people. And for \$250 you could stand on the very, very green lawn and stare at those who could afford to mingle with the president.

"Gay men and lesbians know what it's like to be vilified, to be stereotyped, to be persecuted," Mr Sheffer told his guests by way of introduction, referring to the investigation of Mr Clinton's sex life by the special prosecutor, Kenneth Starr. "Mr President, I want you to know today you are among friends." The crowd, furiously sipping cocktails, applauded cheerfully and Mr Clinton grinned his thanks, joking that he knew the changes he had made across America would result in political enemies. "But I didn't

know it would be quite as profound as it has been, this reaction!" Waving their margaritas, the crowd murmured supportively. By Saturday night, it was time for fund-raiser number three as the Oscar-winning Kim Basinger and her husband, the actor and now political campaigner, Alec Baldwin, opened their 18th-century farmhouse. Again, it was a brutally tiered event, with the 800 local supporters who forked out \$250 being herded into a tent on the lawn where they were rationed to one doughnut each and a cup of cold corn soup. To eat seared tuna inside the house, once the honeymoon retreat of Marilyn Monroe and Arthur Miller

— and later the setting for his play *After the Fall* — cost a full \$5,000. By the end of the night, the Clintons had scooped up \$2 million (\$1.2 million). Mr Baldwin seemed anxious to clarify that he was not actually "hosting" the event. He explained that the National Democratic Committee had asked him if he would lead his house for the evening. Asked if he thought residents and holidaymakers would mind the weekend of Clintonian traffic chaos in the area, Mr Baldwin was characteristically blunt. "So they're going to be inconvenienced for a day? Boo boo. Oh boo hoo!"

Call for truth, page 6

Ministers turn on Field as benefits row erupts

Lucy Ward
Political Correspondent

THE bitterness between Frank Field and the Government over benefits reform exploded into the open yesterday as senior ministers rounded on the former welfare minister for demanding a cabinet job. Attacks by the cabinet "enforcers", Jack Cunningham, and the Social Security Secretary, Alistair Darling, came after Mr Field launched a barrage of criticism against his former boss, Harriet Harman, accusing her of blocking his attempts to shake up the welfare system. Although Downing Street insisted it was seeking to draw a line under the affair, the hurling of claim and counter-claim did nothing to damp down a row rumbling since Mr Field resigned from the Government a week ago in Mr Blair's first reshuffle after losing his job as minister for welfare reform.

Mr Field — who kept his head down yesterday after giving a series of Sunday newspaper interviews — was comprehensively put down by ministers and, more viciously, in background briefings from cabinet sources. Besides attacking Ms Harman for obstructing his ideas, Mr Field also warned that Gordon Brown's plans for means-testing benefits would "corrupt" the poor by failing to reward thriftiness and self-reliance. In another dig at the Chancellor, he also suggested that Mr Brown's policy for encouraging the unemployed back to work, the working families tax credit, left the way open for unscrupulous employees and bosses to defraud the system.

Government moves to end the row began with Mr Cunningham, who told Sky News that Mr Field had not wanted to stay in his current job but did not find other offers acceptable. "That's not the kind of pressure any prime minister is going to accept," he said. Later, Mr Darling said giving Mr Field the top job at the Department of Social Security would have been impossible. In a coded comment reinforcing Downing Street's message

that Mr Field's approach was excessively theoretical, he stressed that eventually ministers had to bring in practical measures.

He told BBC Radio 4's *The World This Weekend*: "While of course there is room for debate and discussion and argument about the whole nature of reform and the welfare state, there does come a time when you've got to move from these general discussions to what is practically possible."

The Tories said Downing Street attacks on Mr Field had "highlighted the hole at the heart of the Government's welfare reform programme". Shadow social security minister Iain Duncan Smith said: "By claiming that Frank Field's ideas were unrealistic, the Government have admitted that no real welfare reform was taking place."

Ms Harman, now on holiday with her family, maintained her policy of "dignified silence" in the face of Mr Field's criticisms. In a bitter account of alleged backstabbing he suffered as minister for welfare reform, Mr Field said: "It was like grafting someone else's organ on to a body. Chances of rejection are pretty great. That's what happened. What became clear was that the only way it could work was for the person who was running the department to be in charge of welfare reform."

Allies of Ms Harman angrily denied the claims yesterday. One said: "If he [Mr Field] was so principled and felt so badly, why didn't he resign earlier?" Suggestions from anonymous sources in some papers that Mr Blair's impatience with the former minister would extend to standing aside if his Birkenhead constituency party chose not to respect him were firmly denied by the local party yesterday. A party meeting last Friday unanimously supported a motion endorsing his reasons for resigning.

The former minister is due to make a speech to the Social Market Foundation on Thursday, where he is expected to continue to criticise Mr Brown's alleged attempts to block his welfare reform plans.

Roy Matherley, page 8

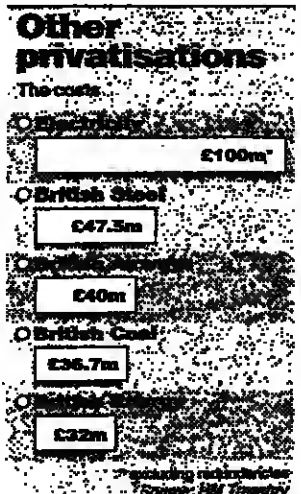


Actor and activist Alec Baldwin with President Clinton

£1.4bn tag makes rail sell-off the dearest privatisation by far

Keith Harper
Transport Editor

RAIL privatisation cost the taxpayer almost £1.4 billion, by far the most expensive sell-off of all the industries privatised by the Tories — confirmed in official figures obtained by the Guardian last night. The figures reveal that privatisation has so far cost the Government £680 million in fees and direct payments. But the figures, from the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, include a further £100 million for corruption to British Rail staff who would normally have carried out other work. There is also £510 million in redundancy payments between 1991-96 in the lead-up to privatisation. Some of those made redundant would have left the industry whether it was privatised or not. They departed as BR struggled to balance the books in the early 1990s. The trickle became a rush as some 40,000 staff gave up their jobs. The £680 million figure is the most important. It accounts for payments by the Department of Transport and British Rail to lawyers, banks, advisers and analysts. They were responsible for drawing up plans to restructure, franchise and regulate the new railway industry. Teams worked round the clock in a frantic exercise which few thought the Tories could pull off.



In a parliamentary answer in February 1997, the then Transport Secretary, Sir George Young, gave a figure of £630 million. He said: "In the six years since 1990-91, my department will have spent £91.7 million in restructuring, privatising, franchising and regulating the new railway industry. Details of costs incurred by British Rail and Railtrack are a matter for them, but I understand they estimate they will have spent £417.2 million. In addition, the office of passenger rail franchising and the office of the rail regulator will have spent £121.1 million."

The Treasury admitted yesterday that rail had "easily" been the most expensive pri-

vatization. Electricity privatization fell well behind at £100 million, although this figure excludes redundancies. Rail was the most complicated of all the privatisations. As soon as John Major decided on the rush for privatization before the election, BR was given the difficult task of selling off the 100 parts of BR in effect 100 different companies.

A senior BR source said yesterday that it had contributed £250 million of the £680 million. The Tory government was so anxious to get the industry into the private sector that it set BR unrealistic targets. BR was ordered to sell off different parts by a specific date. If

it failed to achieve the sale in time, it had to get the best price it could, which in many cases was not the best market price.

In the lead-up to privatisation, the government reduced BR's subsidy, until it was just under £1 billion in the final year before the sell-off. The subsidy was doubled to £2 billion in the first year of privatisation. It is now being gradually reduced. This year it is around £1.7 billion, but will reduce to £1 billion by 2002.

All 25 train operating companies receive a subsidy, except Gatwick Express. Thameslink has received £2.5 million in subsidy this year, but is about to start paying back money to the Treasury next year. Many of the companies receive large subsidies. Regional Railways North East currently gets £140 million and ScotRail £127 million. Some of the industry question whether a number of companies will be able to keep going without further cash injections from the Treasury and whether they will be in a position to start paying money back.

Virgin, which operates the west coast mainline between London and Glasgow, is investing millions in new trains. This year its subsidy is £76 million, but within four years its owner, Richard Branson, must start reimbursing the Treasury, with an initial payment of almost £4 million.

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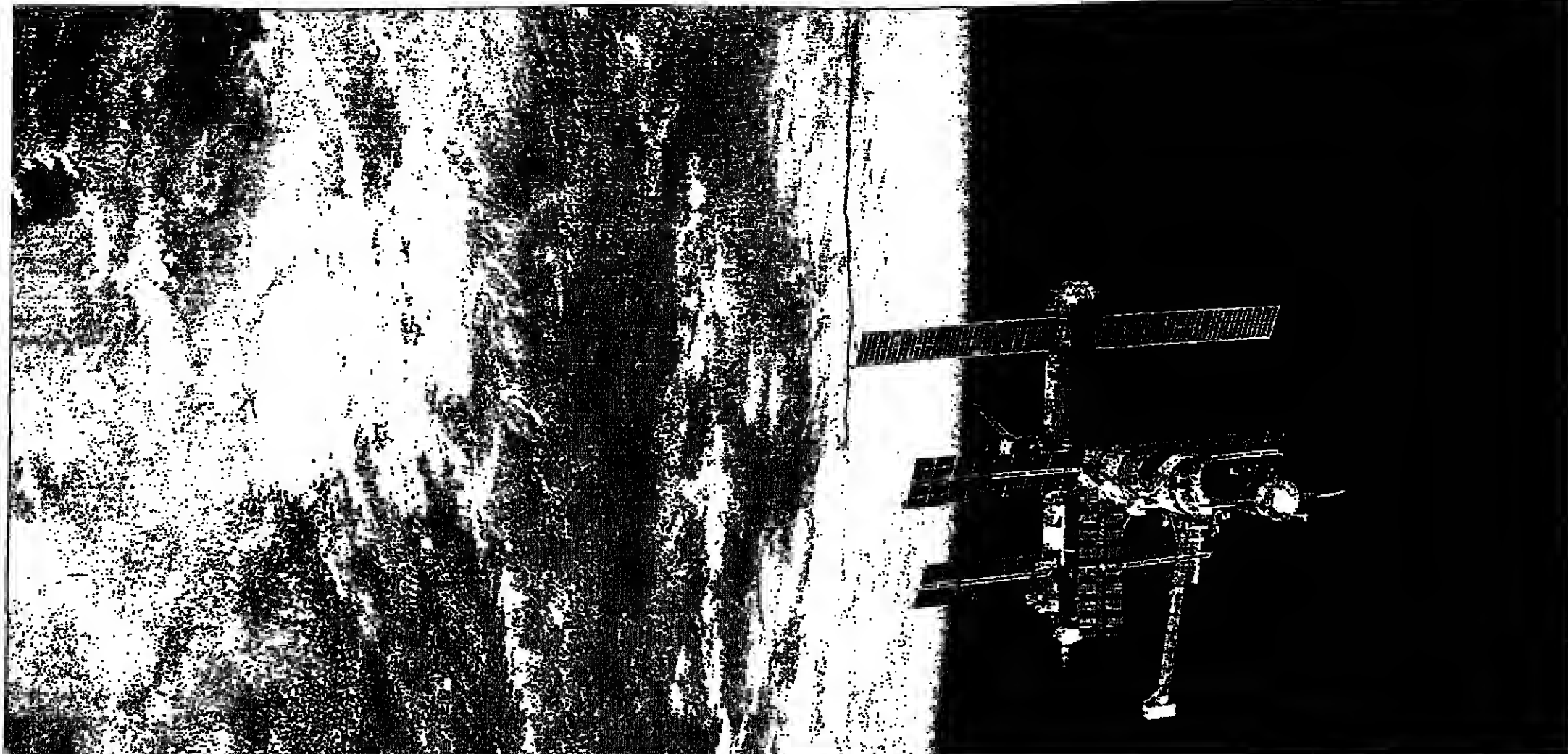
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Mir over the Pacific: its shape makes it hard for scientists to predict where it will go when it hits the atmosphere. PHOTOGRAPH: AP/NASA



Space station could be falling to its worst disaster

Tim Radford reports on problems in bringing Mir down to Earth

THE troubled Mir spacecraft could land on populated areas when it ends its 13-year endurance trial in orbit, say British scientists.

Russian scientists plan to nudge the elderly space hotel and laboratory into the atmosphere and lose it in the Pacific Ocean at the end of next year, but British experts are warning that it could hit populated areas instead.

Richard Crowther, a space scientist at Dera, Britain's defence research agency, said: "The trouble is that Mir is a very complex vehicle. It's very easy to de-orbit a vehicle such as the shuttle, which has well-defined and symmetric aerodynamic surfaces. "The problem with the Mir station is that it is asymmetric and it is difficult to predict how such a shape would behave when it gets into the

lower reaches of Earth's atmosphere. Unlike the shuttle, which has rigid surfaces, the Mir station has solar arrays which will bend and buckle quickly. "The last Nasa (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) astronaut on Mir — the Australian-born Andrew Thomas — has checked out, leaving only a Russian crew. Moscow space chiefs may decide they cannot afford to supply the space station for much longer. Its managers plan to let it sink gradually closer to Earth, and then in December 1999 help

the last supply ship nudge it into the atmosphere on a trajectory that will let it splash down harmlessly. Dr Crowther said that once Mir had been pushed into the atmosphere it would be difficult to control its terminal trajectory. Mir would come streaking from the heavens at a shallow angle at 17,500mph, heated, braked and buffeted by an increasingly thick atmosphere. "If you are out by several minutes, you could be out by hundreds of kilometres. The issue is where the station would end up," he said.

Mir's forerunner, the Salyut-7 spacebase, came back in 1991. It should have landed in the Atlantic. "It ended up striking South America. The Americans had a similar experience with Skylab. Again they aimed for the Pacific and ended up going into Western Australia. It seems that, even though people have very large targets, just because of the complex configurations of these vehicles it's difficult to predict where they are going to fall along the track."

There is also a joker in the pack. December 1999 is expected to be a "solar maximum" — the high point in the Sun's 11-year cycle. There should be more radiation from the Sun, which would in turn heat Earth's atmosphere

and make it expand. This has already proved a hazard for satellites in low orbit, causing them to slow unexpectedly and fall. "It's like a sunnied grim reaper that appears every 11 years," said Dr Crowther. "It comes out and grabs the satellites and brings them back to Earth."

Space agencies routinely plan early in the design stage how spacecraft will end their lives, but the Mir programme is 13 years old. It has already survived far longer than its planned life. In the last couple of years there has been a

series of sudden, terrifying moments, including a collision with a supply vessel and a fire.

Mir's crew has also had to deal with regular computer failures, power loss, spilled chemicals, uncertain oxygen supply and overloading lavatories. Even so, Mir has had a key role in providing endurance training in low gravity for US astronauts who will be working on the planned \$40 billion international space station next year. "It's actually achieved a great deal since it has been up there," said Dr Crowther.

Muddle over Diptheria vaccine

DEPARTMENT of Health officials yesterday said it was extremely unlikely anyone would contract diptheria after it emerged that 40,000 out-of-date doses of vaccine were sent to family doctors.

GP's have been advised to dump the affected supplies and re-vaccinate patients. A Department of Health spokes-

woman said: "Diptheria is extremely uncommon, and all children have been vaccinated against it in Britain for many years." The blunder happened because the manufacturer recommended that it had a four-year shelf life, while the British health advice was that it should be kept for only three years.

Police reject 'pure speculation' of serial prostitute killer

Nick Hopkins

POLICE in Hull yesterday called talk of a "pure speculation" following the murder of a third prostitute in recent weeks. The dismembered body of a

25-year-old woman was discovered in a pumping station and identified on Friday as Natalie Clubb, a mother-of-three. Detectives have not linked Ms Clubb's death with the murders of prostitutes Samantha Class and Hayley Morgan.

But other prostitutes suspect a "ripper" style killer. One prostitute, who refused to be named, said: "We have no faith in the police. "Every girl I speak to is terrified they will be next. We all think just one man is to blame for Natalie, Samantha and Hayley."

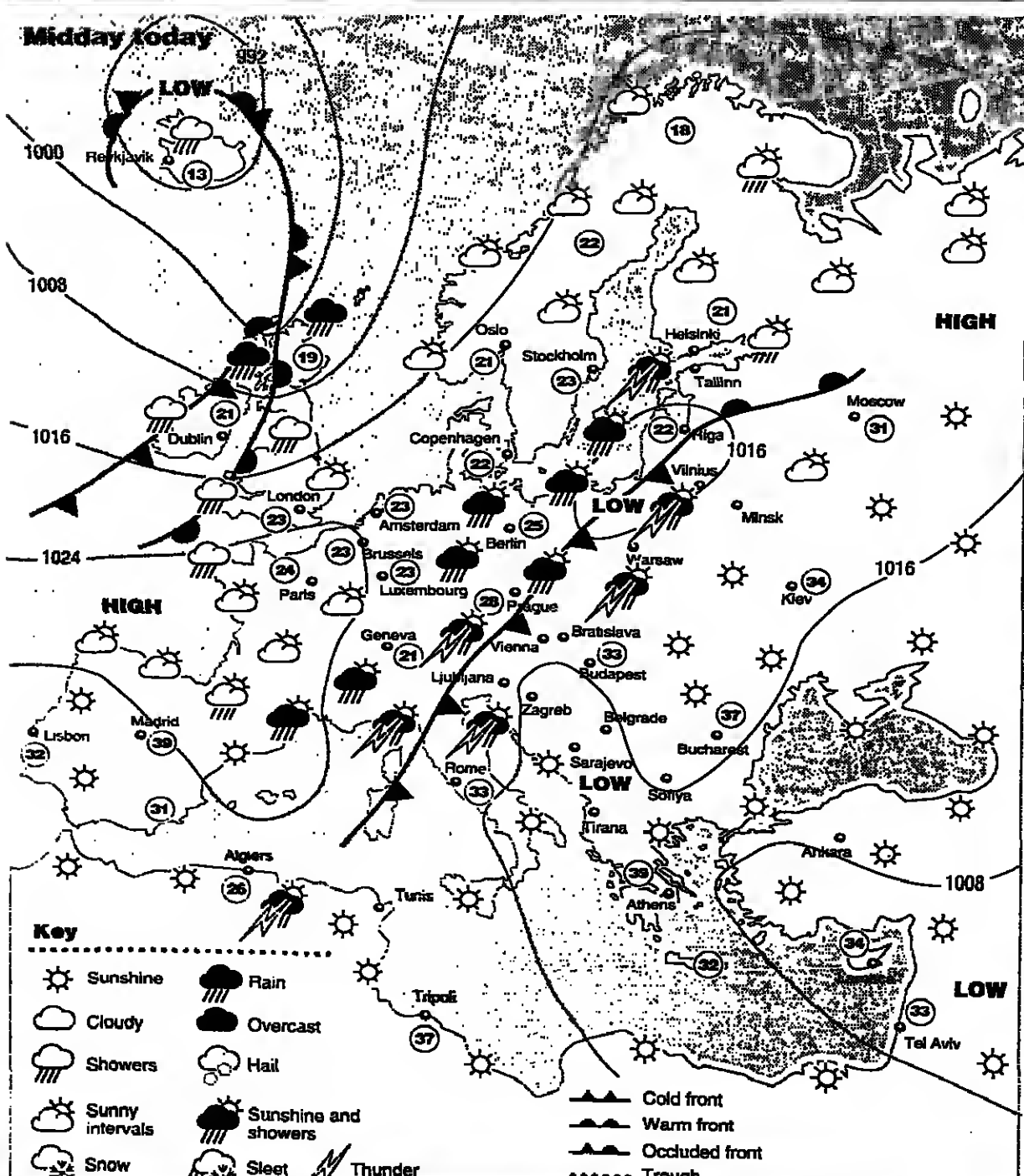
Another vice-girl, a 24-year-old heroin user, added: "It's not really stopping us working. "Some girls are staying indoors, but users like me need to work to pay for our habits."

Detective Chief Inspector Paul Davison said talk of a serial killer was "pure speculation" and insisted there was no evidence to support the theory.

He said his officers were trying to establish if other prostitutes from the city were missing. He said all three women had been heroin addicts.

Mr Davison said officers were attempting to trace another prostitute, Emma Wardell, and are also waiting for a post-mortem on Ms Clubb whose body was hacked to pieces. Search teams found a head, two arms, a torso and parts of legs in a drain.

The weather in Europe



| Forecast for the cities | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Today | Tomorrow | Wednesday | Thursday |
| Algeria 21-28 S | Algeria 21-28 F | Algeria 21-28 S | Algeria 21-28 S |
| Amsterdam 13-18 S | Amsterdam 13-18 F | Amsterdam 13-18 S | Amsterdam 13-18 S |
| Antwerp 13-18 S | Antwerp 13-18 F | Antwerp 13-18 S | Antwerp 13-18 S |
| Athens 21-28 S | Athens 21-28 F | Athens 21-28 S | Athens 21-28 S |
| Berlin 13-18 S | Berlin 13-18 F | Berlin 13-18 S | Berlin 13-18 S |
| Bombay 21-28 S | Bombay 21-28 F | Bombay 21-28 S | Bombay 21-28 S |
| Buenos Aires 13-18 S | Buenos Aires 13-18 F | Buenos Aires 13-18 S | Buenos Aires 13-18 S |
| Calcutta 21-28 S | Calcutta 21-28 F | Calcutta 21-28 S | Calcutta 21-28 S |
| Cairo 21-28 S | Cairo 21-28 F | Cairo 21-28 S | Cairo 21-28 S |
| Canton 21-28 S | Canton 21-28 F | Canton 21-28 S | Canton 21-28 S |
| Cebu 21-28 S | Cebu 21-28 F | Cebu 21-28 S | Cebu 21-28 S |
| Colon 21-28 S | Colon 21-28 F | Colon 21-28 S | Colon 21-28 S |
| Dacca 21-28 S | Dacca 21-28 F | Dacca 21-28 S | Dacca 21-28 S |
| Delhi 21-28 S | Delhi 21-28 F | Delhi 21-28 S | Delhi 21-28 S |
| Disco 21-28 S | Disco 21-28 F | Disco 21-28 S | Disco 21-28 S |
| Edinburgh 13-18 S | Edinburgh 13-18 F | Edinburgh 13-18 S | Edinburgh 13-18 S |
| Geneva 13-18 S | Geneva 13-18 F | Geneva 13-18 S | Geneva 13-18 S |
| Hong Kong 21-28 S | Hong Kong 21-28 F | Hong Kong 21-28 S | Hong Kong 21-28 S |
| London 13-18 S | London 13-18 F | London 13-18 S | London 13-18 S |
| Lyons 13-18 S | Lyons 13-18 F | Lyons 13-18 S | Lyons 13-18 S |
| Madrid 13-18 S | Madrid 13-18 F | Madrid 13-18 S | Madrid 13-18 S |
| Moscow 13-18 S | Moscow 13-18 F | Moscow 13-18 S | Moscow 13-18 S |
| Paris 13-18 S | Paris 13-18 F | Paris 13-18 S | Paris 13-18 S |
| Rangoon 21-28 S | Rangoon 21-28 F | Rangoon 21-28 S | Rangoon 21-28 S |
| Shanghai 21-28 S | Shanghai 21-28 F | Shanghai 21-28 S | Shanghai 21-28 S |
| Singapore 21-28 S | Singapore 21-28 F | Singapore 21-28 S | Singapore 21-28 S |
| Sourabaya 21-28 S | Sourabaya 21-28 F | Sourabaya 21-28 S | Sourabaya 21-28 S |
| Taipei 21-28 S | Taipei 21-28 F | Taipei 21-28 S | Taipei 21-28 S |
| Tokyo 21-28 S | Tokyo 21-28 F | Tokyo 21-28 S | Tokyo 21-28 S |
| Yokohama 21-28 S | Yokohama 21-28 F | Yokohama 21-28 S | Yokohama 21-28 S |

European outlook

Scandinavia: A ridge of high pressure will keep most of Scandinavia fine and bright with a mix of cloud and sunshine. However, south-east Sweden and southern Finland will be more unsettled with the threat of showers. Max temp mostly 18-22C.

Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Switzerland: The Low Countries will be mostly fine with sunny spells. Germany and Austria will be much more disturbed with scattered thundery showers, more especially over the Alps. Temperatures mostly 20-25C, but hotter in the extreme east.

France: Central and northern parts of the country will be mostly dry and bright with some good sunny spells, although the sea north will cloud over in the afternoon with some light rain on the north British coast. The south of France will be warm but unsettled with scattered thundery showers. Max temp ranging from 18C in the far north-west to 25C on the Mediterranean coast.

Spain and Portugal: Much of the country will be fine and settled with lots of blue sky and bright sun. A wide range of temperatures from 22C on the north coast to a scorching 30C in Seville.

Italy: The south will be fine and very hot with lots of sunshine. Northern Italy, including Corsica, will be warm and humid with sunny spells and scattered thundery showers, locally severe with flooding. Temperatures mainly 25-30C, but 34C in the south.

Greece: Very hot and sunny, but a stiff Etesian wind will blow through the Aegean. Max temp 31C on the islands, locally 36C on the mainland.

Around the world: Yesterday's sunshine reports: London 13-18 S, Paris 13-18 S, Berlin 13-18 S, Rome 13-18 S, Athens 21-28 S, Moscow 13-18 S, Tokyo 21-28 S, Sydney 21-28 S, Melbourne 21-28 S, Auckland 21-28 S, Wellington 21-28 S, Christchurch 21-28 S, Dunedin 21-28 S, Sydney 21-28 S, Melbourne 21-28 S, Auckland 21-28 S, Wellington 21-28 S, Christchurch 21-28 S, Dunedin 21-28 S.

Television and radio

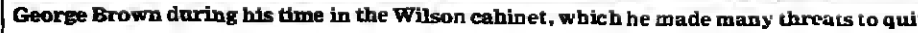
BBC 1

7.00am Breakfast, 8.00am BBC Breakfast News, 9.00am Today, 10.00am What Now? 11.00am Easy Money, 12.00pm The Rembrandt Challenge, 1.00pm News, 1.30pm Regional News, 2.00pm News, 2.30pm Regional News, 3.00pm News, 3.30pm Regional News, 4.00pm News, 4.30pm Regional News, 5.00pm News, 5.30pm Regional News, 6.00pm News, 6.30pm Regional News, 7.00pm News, 7.30pm Regional News, 8.00pm News, 8.30pm Regional News, 9.00pm News, 9.30pm Regional News, 10.00pm News, 10.30pm Regional News, 11.00pm News, 11.30pm Regional News, 12.00am News, 12.30am Regional News, 1.00am News, 1.30am Regional News, 2.00am News, 2.30am Regional News, 3.00am News, 3.30am Regional News, 4.00am News, 4.30am Regional News, 5.00am News, 5.30am Regional News, 6.00am News, 6.30am Regional News, 7.00am News, 7.30am Regional News, 8.00am News, 8.30am Regional News, 9.00am News, 9.30am Regional News, 10.00pm News, 10.30pm Regional News, 11.00pm News, 11.30pm Regional News, 12.00am News, 12.30am Regional News, 1.00am News, 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institute killer

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Leader comment, page 9



George Brown's scheme to enlist investment from Maxwell and Lever led to fierce battle with prime minister, writes Alan Travis

He had attacked the paper as morally wrong to enter into negotiations with a traitor. During his speech Mr Brown stunned the audience by announcing that Lord Thomson was "the only man I have ever known who cheated me ... You actually gave me your bond and then broke it".

The state papers record that "it was nothing to do with Philby but to do with the fact that Lord Thomson had gone back on his promised participation in the Fairfield Company".

It turned out that Lord Thomson had agreed to make a substantial investment in the syndicate but in the event one of his subsidiary companies only put in £150,000.

Last year, the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations and Assessment Council was at the centre of another scandal when it was wrongly accused of favouring candidates from independent schools.

Many HIV sufferers fear they may one day run out of options unless pharmaceutical companies invent new medicines.

The trust and Abbott UK Ltd, based in Maidenhead, Berkshire, are trying to inform people in advance of the problem. Abbott has launched a helpline, on 0800 0183 340, and a website at <http://www.norvir.com>.

The advice sparked indignation among MPs. Helen Grinton, who won Peterborough for Labour, said it patronized women. "If the Government come to me and say 'don't be a coward' about their seminars. This is a new job and a tough one but I'm glad I'm in it."

However Anne Campbell, Labour MP for Cambridge since 1992, said the Sottles would fail as a constituency. "It is about the same techniques. My husband has quite a high-powered job so I have to make sure I have to learn."

On coaches and buses has found that one in eight vehicles stopped had mechanical faults, police said yesterday. Operators of Tourist stopped 1,122 passenger vehicles during Saturday's blitz in 40 police areas.

Faults were found on 265 of the vehicles, with 97 being ordered off the road immediately.

The remaining 168 were given 10 days to carry out repairs. The wheel nuts on

She said: "The phrase 'style over substance' is certainly one I use often because it happens to be one I think fits." The phrase was a "Widow" favourite. The "Widow" came's favoured phrase in respect two weeks ago, while Shadow culture minister Peter Ainsworth last week said it was "one of our four in just over a minute."

The Tories gained their first taste of a new insult striking home last year, when the Labour Party's harassment of the Conservative Government over the donation of Formula One boss Bernie Ecclestone, and the offshore trust of the Paymaster General, Geoffrey Robinson, was exposed. The Labouring one thing and doing another.

More recently, Mr Hague hit home with a jibe at "Tony's Croonies" — on Labour's alleged links with lobbyists.

6 WORLD NEWS

News in brief

Taliban army takes rival stronghold

AFGHANISTAN'S Taliban militia yesterday claimed it had captured the stronghold of General Rashid Dostam, putting it on the doorstep of the main headquarters of the opposition coalition.

Mullah Omar, a Taliban spokesman, said his fighters had taken many prisoners in the town of Sheberghan. Azdullah Shasqa, a spokesman for the Hizbe Wahadat militia, one of Gen Dostam's partners, confirmed that Sheberghan had fallen, but said Gen Dostam had suffered few casualties and had retreated south to Sariful.

The next Taliban target is likely to be Mazar-e-Sharif, 60 miles east of Sheberghan. Mazar-e-Sharif is the headquarters of Ahmed Shah Massoud, the military chief who was chased from the Afghan capital by the Taliban army in 1996.

Mullah Omar said Taliban fighters were already making gains around Mazar-e-Sharif. — AP, Kabul.

Hutu rebels kill 110

HUTU rebels armed with machetes and clubs backed to death 110 people in attacks north-west of the Rwandan capital, an army commander, Colonel Fred Rwigyira, said yesterday.

He said the attacks occurred late on Friday in Rubeta and Raba communes, 30 miles from Kigali. Wallis Gesamugera, the senior official in Kigali rural prefecture, said people recognised some of the attackers and captured one. Soldiers were searching for the rebels, who had probably been in the heavily forested north-west corner of the country, he said.

The attack was the worst since the rebels — former Hutu soldiers and militiamen — killed, backed to death and then burned 34 people last month at an inn on the main road from Kigali to the north-west. — AP, Kigali.

Some Sydney water clean

WATER in a per cent of Sydney households was declared fit to drink yesterday, though the rest of the city's 3.7 million residents must still boil their water before a dangerous parasite is flushed from the system.

The outbreak of the parasites *giardia* and *cryptosporidium* has been an international embarrassment to the city that will host the summer Olympics in two years.

No illnesses have been reported since the parasites were found in the water supply last week. But they have an incubation period of a week or more, so it may take several more days for health problems to develop. *Cryptosporidium* to Milwaukee's water in 1993 contributed to about 100 deaths. More than 400,000 others fell ill.

The cause of the contamination is unclear. Officials have not found evidence that animal carcasses found in or near an open canal leading to a filtration plant were the source. — AP, Sydney.

Second cell-death at Hague

THE Yugoslav war crimes tribunal said yesterday it would launch an internal inquiry into the death of a second detained suspect in just over a month.

Milan Kovacevic, a Bosnian Serb aged 57, died in his cell on Saturday morning of a heart attack. He was the only suspect on trial for genocide, accused of organising the dispatch of prisoners to the death camp at Omarska, where thousands of Muslims and Croats were raped, tortured and killed.

"All aspects of the death will be looked into," a Hague tribunal spokesman, Christian Chabrier, said. One of Mr Kovacevic's lawyers said tribunal officials failed to give his client, who had a history of health problems, adequate medical treatment, but another lawyer said a doctor gave him medication on Friday night.

On June 29, a former Serb mayor of Vukovar, Slavko Dokmanovic, hanged himself in his cell as the tribunal judges were considering their verdict. An internal inquiry exonerated Hague prison officials. — Reuters, Amsterdam.

Burma sit-in 'was planned'

A MEMBER of Burma's ruling junta, has delivered a strong attack on the democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, accusing her of colluding with foreign embassies to incite unrest, state newspapers said yesterday.

Khin Nyunt, first secretary of the State Peace and Development Council, was quoted as saying that Ms Suu Kyi's recent six-day car sit-in protest, when she was stopped from visiting supporters in the provinces, was an orchestrated attempt to "incite riots and cause unrest".

He said when she set out on her trip last week she took enough food to last a week. Leaders of the National League for Democracy and some embassies had been informed of her daily activities, rehearsed her plan and then condemned the government.

The Nobel Peace laureate was stopped at a bridge near a village on July 24 and ordered to return to Yangon. She refused and began a sit-in protest instead, until security personnel forcibly removed her from her car on July 29 and took her home. "All national peoples are duty bound to crush the minions of the colonialists," Mr Khin Nyunt said. — Reuters, Yangon.

Diamond boss gunned down

THE head of Russia's largest diamond-processing company was shot and killed in a suspected contract murder, Russian state television reported yesterday.

The bullet-ridden body of Alexander Shubakov, executive director of the Kristall diamond company and president of the Russian Association of Diamond Processors, was found on Saturday outside Smolensk, in a road leading to his country home. Kristall had recently reached an agreement with other Russian companies to market its diamonds directly, bypassing the South African De Beers cartel, Russia's Itar-Tass news agency reported. — AP, Moscow.

London urged as location for new centre to help opposition groups trying to overthrow Iraqi regime

US plans anti-Saddam base

Gary Young in Washington

THE United States wants London to become a base for assisting organisations committed to overthrowing and undermining the Baghdad regime, it was revealed yesterday.

A centre for exile activities would train opposition groups in organisation techniques and recruitment, and translate and index millions of seized Iraqi documents as possible evidence in a war crimes prosecution. The programme, backed by the Clinton administration, would be funded from Washington.

Congress has already set aside \$5 million (\$3.2 million)

for an attempt to rebuild Iraq's fractured political opposition and to prepare for a possible indictment of Iraqi leaders for war crimes.

But there are heated disputes between the administration and Republican Congressmen about who should receive the money, which would be provided by the US state department. Recipients are likely to include rival Kurdish factions, and the Iraqi National Congress and the pressure group Indict, both based in London.

The news came as the United Nations chief arms inspector, Richard Butler, arrived in Baghdad on the eighth anniversary of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. He will hold talks with the deputy

prime minister, Tariq Aziz. A UN economic embargo on Baghdad cannot be lifted until the inspectors certify that the country's biological, chemical and nuclear weapons, and missiles with a range of more than 90 miles, have been destroyed.

Official Iraqi newspapers, which claim that Baghdad has already complied with the UN resolution, have accused the team of being a US-backed "lies factory".

The ruling Ba'ath party's Ath-Thawra daily urged Mr Butler "to adhere to his professional and technical duties and to steer clear of any bad political objectives".

The Republican-dominated US Congress has recently stepped up efforts to bring

down President Saddam Hussein, after years of botched attempts. It now appears to consider Britain the most effective location for a base.

Congressmen have been keen to give practical support to Indict, launched last year by the Labour MP Ann Clwyd. The group's aim is to bring President Saddam and other leading Iraqi figures before an international tribunal on charges of war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and crimes against peace.

Indict's work is backed by the leaders of Britain's three main parties.

"President Clinton has been very supportive of Indict," said Ms Clwyd yesterday. "But since the organisa-

tion has been set up, we've had virtually no funds. I spoke to state department officials about a month ago and they said the money was imminent."

The congressional plan aims to give around \$80,000 to co-ordinate the activities of groups fighting against war crimes, and \$235,000 for document translation.

Republican senators have been urging the administration to give most of the money to the Iraqi National Congress and Indict, which work closely together in London, rather than the spread it

around the 75 Iraqi opposition groups it has listed.

"Many of the groups listed number only one person, and several are not even Iraqi,"

said a report from the House of Representatives international relations committee.

But the administration says the INC, an umbrella organisation of anti-Saddam forces, is "an opposition group, not the opposition group", and it has raised legal objections to funding Indict.

Sources in Congress say there is little hope that the plan will remove President Saddam in the near future, but it could encourage a peaceful and swift transition to democracy should the Iraqi leader fail. The administration has also set aside \$3 million for an anti-Saddam "Radio Free Iraq" in Prague, run on similar lines to the US propaganda stations in Germany during the cold war.

Ancient Christian order riven by land sale to Jews

Julian Borger in Bir Zeit on an Arab revolt in the Greek Orthodox Church

THE DUST in the courtyard of St George's Greek Orthodox Church is gathering at an ever-faster pace. Fifty yards uphill in the Palestinian town of Bir Zeit, a formidable Roman Catholic church is nearing completion and the masons' limestone shavings are blowing downwind.

Each day Sami Abu Ghatas Sayij, St George's 75-year-old caretaker, walks past the shining Catholic edifice to his own decrepit chapel and is reminded of the world's iniquity. The Greek Orthodox Church is the oldest, largest and richest Christian denomination in the Middle East, yet it is dying before his eyes, riven in ethnic conflict and financial scandal.

They promised they would build a new church and a school here," Mr Sayij said. "Instead, the young people go to the Catholic school. The Greeks do nothing."

A long-simmering Arab revolt within the Greek Orthodox Church has erupted in a series of street protests against the Church's hierarchy.

At the weekend, Arab community leaders from Israel, the occupied territories and Jordan met in Amman, to plot ways of developing control back from the Greek bishops and monks whose power over their congregation remains near-fatal.

Greek Christians have been in Bir Zeit, 100 miles from Jerusalem, since the time of Christ. The Greek Orthodox Church of Jerusalem dates from AD 135.

Now even its adherents believe the ancient order is



A Greek Orthodox priest walks past graffiti in Jerusalem which says "kill Arabs". The Church has been hit by financial scandal. PHOTOGRAPH: HEIDI LEVINE

entering its last few decades as a living church. Squeezed between Islam and the Jewish State, Christian Arabs are leaving the Palestinian territories for the West in their thousands. And the Greek Orthodox Church is split between the all-Greek synod and its 40,000-strong Palestinian congregation.

Arab discontent boiled over last month after reports emerged that Diodoros I, the Patriarch, had sold Israeli developers long-term leases for valuable tracts of church land in Jaffa, Nazareth and the Galilee region.

The sales galvanised Palestinian activists in the Church. They reawakened suspicion about where church revenue was going in the absence of published records. And the transfer of territory to Israelis was — in Arab eyes — a supreme act of betrayal. Arab land dealers have been shot and dumped

on the street for far less. Since the sales, the Church has been paralysed by tension. The Palestinian congregation takes communion from the Greek bishops on Sunday but fights the Patriarchate with street demonstrations and court cases the rest of the week.

Elias Khoury, a Greek Orthodox lawyer, said he believed that the church hierarchy was earning millions of pounds from land deals. "It's going into the pockets of the Greek monks and their families, and going back to Greece," he said. "The situation is getting worse all the time."

"The Patriarchate totally neglects the interests of the Orthodox community... Some say that by the year 2020, there will be no community left."

Marwan Tubassi, an activist who has led the demonstrations, complains of a lack of accountability.

"There was supposed to be a mixed council of Palestinians and Greeks but that was disbanded in 1967," he said. "There has not been a financial report since 1964. Meanwhile, there are fewer and fewer churches and schools being built and the ones that are left are in a bad state."

Mr Tubassi said the Amman conference would augur an escalation of the struggle for control of the Church. "This is our Church," he said. "They [the Greeks] are the foreigners here."

The Patriarchate took no part in the gathering. Patriarch Diodoros is in Greece undergoing kidney dialysis, and the secretary-general, Metropolitan Timothy, remained at his Jerusalem office.

The fax confirming an audience with the Metropolitan gave detailed directions to the office in Jerusalem's

Christian quarter. It also offered advice on protocol. He was to be addressed at all times as Your Eminence, "not 'Dear Father Timothy' or 'Dear Metropolitan' or 'Dear Sir' or anything else".

In the flesh, His Eminence wore a dark grey cassock the colour of his foot-long beard. He sat serenely, but his eyes betrayed mounting impatience at the questions put to him.

"The activities of the Patriarchate are beyond all expectations of the Arab population," Metropolitan Timothy said. "The holy synod expects to reorganise the mixed council if political circumstances allow... When that will be, it's not for me to evaluate."

Asked about the absence of Palestinian bishops in the synod, he promised: "There are clergy among the Palestinians who in due time may be elevated to

rank of bishop when the synod sees fit."

But financial questions drew a heated response: "Why should we issue reports? Does any other church give accounts of its expenses and revenues... We are always open to dialogue, but revolutions can only harm the body of the Church and cause schisms."

From Bir Zeit, once a citadel of Christian Arab wealth and learning, the Church's future looks bleak. Last winter's damp is still seeping through St George's stone cupola as the summer dust drifts by outside.

Mr Sayij still carries neatly folded plans, his memento of school and church that might have been. But his hopes faded long before the architect's ink. "A hundred years ago, Bir Zeit was completely Orthodox. Now we are a thousand. Soon there will be no one left," he said.

Republican offers hope of Clinton holding fast

Gary Young in Washington

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton would not have to resign from office if he admitted to the people of the United States that he had a sexual relationship with the White House intern Monica Lewinsky, the head of the Senate judiciary committee said yesterday.

"The president would have a reasonable chance of remaining at the top of the system," said Orrin Hatch.

Mr Hatch chairs the committee to which the independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr must present his report and other investigations. The committee must then decide whether to lodge articles of impeachment with Congress.

If Congress decided there were grounds for impeachment, the Senate would judge finally whether Mr Clinton should be stripped of the presidency.

"If he comes forth and tells

it and does it in the right way and there aren't a lot of other factors to cause the Congress to say this man is unfit for the presidency and every every benefit of the doubt and show leniency here."

The comments from Mr Hatch — a Republican senator from the highly conservative Mormon-dominated state of Utah — reflect the reluctance of both major parties to remove President Clinton from office prematurely.

Democrats would like to see him stay and clear his name and are happy to keep him so long as his approval ratings remain high.

Republicans balk at the prospect of handing Vice-President Al Gore the keys to the White House, a full two years before he would have to fight for them.

Mr Clinton is set to testify to a grand jury on August 17 on the accusations that he had a sexual relationship with Ms Lewinsky and then encouraged her to cover it up.

"If it doesn't lead to something a lot more serious, and even if it does, if he handles

it right, it may be enough to cause people to say 'Hey, look, he is the president, he has two years to go, we may want to give him every every benefit of the doubt and show leniency here'."

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"If it doesn't lead to something a lot more serious, and even if it does, if he handles

David Hirst in Beirut

NEW and successful newspaper took centre stage yesterday in the power struggle in Iran between the president, Mohammad Khatami, and his arch-conservative rivals. Banned last week, Jameah (Society) promptly appeared under a second name. Banned again on Saturday, it emerged yesterday under a third.

This act of defiance has added venom to a conflict constantly erupting in new forms. No sooner do the conservatives, headed by their spiritual guide, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, strike a blow at the moderates than the moderates mount a new challenge.

The fear is that sooner or later a confrontation will turn into the fundamental showdown that both sides still appear anxious to avoid.

The hardliners are once again making use of the Ansar-e-Hizbollah, street gangs mas-

querading as enforcers of Islamic morality, but students and other Khatami supporters are replying in kind.

Evidently with this in mind, Jameah's editor, Mahmoud Shams, said yesterday: "What is dangerous is that the fate of Mr Khatami's government will be determined in the streets, where militants are taking the law into their own hands."

The newly licensed newspaper — Atfah-e Emrouz (Today's Sun) — appeared in the same format as Taus, which was the same as its Jameah original. It led with an account of an attack by the Ansar-e-Hizbollah on the paper's premises on Saturday, in which Mr Shams was punched.

The fate of Jameah goes to the heart of the power struggle. For the moderates, its closure would be an assault on the greatly expanded freedoms, for the conservatives, its publication amounts to an intolerable affront to their power and prestige.

The conservative judiciary, in seeking to suppress Jameah, accused it of publishing false reports and disturbing public order. But the ministry of Islamic guidance, headed by a key Khatami ally, opposed the ban, urging the judiciary to reconsider.

Jameah was an instant success when it appeared in March. Within 100 days it had a readership of 300,000.

Last week, after its first ban, it raised the stakes, drawing Mr Khatami himself directly into the fray. A headline quoted him as saying: "Those who oppose freedom in the name of the religion are the enemies of the people."

Another paper, Khaneh, recently published a letter from a woman criticising the late Ayatollah Khomeini. "Do you want me to follow someone who transformed Iran into an international terrorist state with his order to murder Salman Rushdie."

Last week its editor, Mohammad-Reza Za'eri, was arrested.

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كلمة الامل



Despite Belgrade's assurances that the offensive against Albanian separatists has ended, civilians continue to suffer. Forced from their homes, they are being pounded by artillery in their forest refuge, writes Peter Beaumont in Divljaka

Kosovo refugees find no haven on Big Bad Mountain

THE explosion came first — a dull thud echoing through the woods of Kosovo's Banja Gorge. A minute later came a second shell, scything above our heads with an audible whoosh towards its target higher up the mountain.

Fehmi Goshi, an ethnic-Albanian refugee from the village of Oriste, on the other side of the mountain, winced and paused as he told how he brought his family of 20 to live in the gorge last week after his home was shelled by Serbian forces and his village was cleared.

Mr Goshi used to teach French in the village school; now he lives under the trees. He is a trim, neat man, despite having slept on the ground in his only clothes for seven nights.

His joy at finding a French-speaker to carry his story to the outside world is a moment of quiet catharsis: his family was driven from their home by Serb soldiers and police and has survived on scraps of food provided by local villagers and guerrillas of the Kosovo Liberation Army, who patrol the gorge and mountainside. "We came only with what we were wearing," he said. "The police came with the soldiers, supported by a large number of tanks. They shelled everything. There were around 50 people injured. Then they burnt our cars." But while Mr Goshi is able to scrape a hard living for himself and the younger members of his family, life in the woods for his 80-year-old father and his mother is desperate. His father sits bolt upright with his crutches on the family's only chair. Under his felt cap his expression is of a

man crushed by the explosion, broken by being forced to walk 10 miles across the mountains on almost crippled feet to find sanctuary.

Now even the gorge is no longer safe. The shelling from the Serb-controlled town of Komorane has driven many who sought shelter back down the mountain track, in a sorry caravan of crowded tractor trailers.

It is what the Serb authorities want. Last week a plane dropped leaflets urging the refugees to return and assuring them that they were safe. It is an assurance the refugees do not believe. But they know they cannot stay on this high ground, marked on the maps as "Big Bad Mountain".

Surrounded by the Serbs on three sides, the KLA is coming under renewed pressure in this fastness. And as in Junik — also under siege from Serb guns — the civilians are suffering grievously. "We would like to go back to our homes but we cannot," Mr Goshi said. "Our Serb neighbours are our enemies now. They have destroyed our homes and our lives. We are living here like animals — injured animals."

The refugees of Oriste and neighbouring villages believe they have been abandoned by the world. What they see happening is a clear contradiction of claims by the Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, that the Serb offensive against the KLA is over. For below these mountain villages the Serb onslaught — which has displaced up to 60,000 refugees — continues. If anything has happened, it is that the rolling offensive has simply moved on to try to crush all resistance to the Kosovo uprising.

Despite Belgrade's claims that the KLA guerrillas fighting in these hills are foreigners from Albania and elsewhere, it is clear that the men in this sector are locals who are struggling for their survival and the survival of their families.

Higher up the mountains — above Divljaka, where the limestone track runs out — it is impossible to tell what is happening to the KLA, reeling from a series of defeats in recent weeks. Its fighters are unwilling to escort reporters any higher.

All that the officer in charge will volunteer is: "We are not politicians; we are simply fighting for our people. We are looking after them."

Hasan Bytyci, from a nearby village, is less guarded. "Look around you. Milosevic says he is fighting terrorists. We are not terrorists. These refugees are women, old people and children. They are shelling from all sides."

Another refugee sums up the anger of those living in these hills.

"Where are your European leaders? Where is the world? Tell them the Serbian forces are killing women and children in these woods."

'The Serbs have destroyed our homes and our lives. We are living here like animals — injured animals'



For Fehmi Goshi's parents, especially his 80-year-old father (seated), life in the Banja Gorge is one of desperate hardship

Hopes fade in mine rescue

Kate Connolly in Lassing

RESCUE workers trying to reach 10 men trapped in a mine in Austria for 16 days drilled into a dome yesterday where it is hoped the victims may have found an air pocket.

But live pictures from waterproof cameras lowered into the 25ft-high dome did not show any sign of life. Unofficial reports from the regional authorities said the images revealed only discarded equipment.

The drilling of the tunnel has enabled the first supplies of oxygen to be pumped 330ft down to the level of the dome.

There were reports in the village of Lassing in southern Austria that knocking sounds had been detected from inside the talcum mine, but they were not confirmed.

The rescue effort was stepped up a week ago after one miner, Georg Hainzl, was found alive.

If the nine miners and one geologist are found alive, the problem of how they will be helped out remains.

Alfred Zeching, one of the rescue co-ordinators, said it was not clear how much mud and water there was in the tunnel leading to the dome.

"We are also not certain that the men are even there," he added.

Drilling the rescue tunnel was halted again on Saturday when the drill head hit obstacles, just 20ft from the ceiling of the dome.

A team of seven German rescuers was sent down the separate fresh-air supply shaft into the heart of the mine. They returned three hours later to report that the tunnel was full of water beyond 300ft, some 130ft above where the men may be, and that they were unable to go any further.

"That way is now closed to us," said Rudolf Uhlenbrock, a miner. Asked what hope he thought there was for the men, he said: "No chance."

A British drilling engineer working with the rescuers, Per Gwaller, said the main rescue tunnel could be too dangerous and suggested a "more realistic" means of reaching the men.

Mr Gwaller, aged 33, from Plymouth, said rescuers could use the so-called First Aid tunnel and then dig diagonally from there through the mine towards the dome.

Turkey's heartland holds out an olive branch to the Greek enemy

Chris Morris tours Cappadocia with the visitors who are being welcomed home by the people who they displaced them

A GREEK flag, painted proudly on a board in the old town of Urgup, is an unexpected sight in Cappadocia, deep in Turkey's Anatolian heartland.

In this region of extraordinary rock formations and ancient underground churches, it is a sign of a minor political miracle — after several years of informal contact, Urgup is now formally twinned with the Greek town of Larissa.

The two have a long and complex history. In the 1920s the Christians of Cappadocia and the Muslims in the area around Larissa were forced from their homes in a mass exchange of populations, what today would be called ethnic cleansing. Similar forced migrations occurred throughout the two countries. Though the modern states of Greece and Turkey are nominally NATO allies, they have been at daggers drawn ever since.

Today, however, a new generation is trying to re-establish contact.

"I have been here many times — my parents came from Cappadocia," said

Dimitrios Kappadokis, a Greek businessman who has been one of those promoting links between the two communities. "I want the Greeks and the Turks to be friends. I believe in peace."

On this visit he has brought along a tour party, including an Orthodox priest making a pilgrimage to some of Christianity's earliest sites. Many of the group have ancestral roots in Cappadocia, and some are returning for the first time.

"We look the same, we know the same songs, and we eat the same food," said Fazli Caliskan, a local Turk who is tour guide for the day. He listens with approval as Greek Orthodox chanting echoes eerily through one of the area's many cave churches.

There are still many signs of the former Greek presence. In the town of Mustafapasa, which used to be known as Sinoela, a restaurant called the Old Greek House advertises traditional Turkish food.

Travel between the two countries is relatively easy,

but tourism is rare. Soula Athanasia, a travel agent from Larissa, says many people are frightened to make the trip.

"They ask me if I'm safe here, and look at me as if I'm either very brave or slightly mad," she laughs.

Reading the more hysterical headlines in either country, or listening to the ranting of nationalist politicians, is enough to make many think twice. And there are still those who believe contact is a bad idea.

'They ask me if I'm safe here and look at me as if I'm either very brave or slightly mad'

The two countries have territorial disputes in the Aegean Sea, and over the divided island of Cyprus, and their Western allies have long feared that they may resort to an armed confrontation.

The visitors from Larissa believe they know who is to blame. "I think they are all political problems," Ms Athanasia said.

"We can do many things,

but the politicians won't leave us alone to do what we want."

The twin-towns initiative is designed to begin changing perceptions. Delegations from both sides have made the short flight across the Aegean, and they hope to start an exchange scheme in which children from one country will stay with families from the other.

"Everyone knows Greeks and Turks find it hard to get along," said Hikmet Can, a local man whose grandfather emigrated from Greece. "But we don't have any difficulties here — we all have a good dialogue. It can be done."

The Greek tour party is invited for dinner on the rooftop terrace of Mr Can's house, where there is earnest discussion and much raising of glasses of Cappadocian wine.

It is another chance for ordinary Greeks and Turks to get to know the neighbours they never had, and to make personal contact in a way their leaders find so hard.

"Before this we didn't know each other," said Mr Caliskan. "And it was difficult for us to understand them."

"But when they came here we saw them and we liked them. Our relationship started, and now it is growing."

Athens loses taste for Cypriot missile row

Helena Smith in Athens

THE Greek government is hoping to defuse the Cyprus missile crisis by persuading Nicosia to cancel its order for Russian anti-aircraft missiles and buy shorter-range weapons.

In public Greece has keenly supported Nicosia's decision to buy 40 Russian missiles capable of striking Turkish fighters deep in Ankara's airspace. They are due to be delivered in November.

But officials admit that Athens is secretly dreading the arrival of the weapons, because of Turkey's repeated threat to launch a pre-emptive

strike to destroy them. Greek military strategists say an armed conflict between Greece and Turkey may be triggered if the 2250 million S-300 system is installed at Paphos airport, in the south-west of the island.

"Our fear is that the Turks will act pre-emptively by staging a surgical strike on Paphos airport before the missiles are actually delivered," one said. "That would put the government in a very difficult position."

In a defence agreement signed by Athens and Nicosia in 1985 Greece promised to defend the island "at all costs". Cyprus has been divided between Greeks in the

south and Turks in the north since Turkey invaded in 1974 following a coup, engineered by the then junta in Athens, designed to unite the island with Greece.

Pears that Ankara means business mounted this week after a 30-minute shoot-out between border guards on the banks of the River Evros. The previous day Turkish fighter planes swept through Greek airspace in a show of military might.

"The last thing Athens wants is to become embroiled in a conflict with Turkey just when it is concentrating all its energy in joining the Economic Monetary Union," said a senior government adviser.

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Comment

e-mail

Jonathan Cook
@ Cairo

N EARLY 30 years after his death, Egypt's greatest military hero of modern times is smiling paternally from the walls of the capital, Nasser. The Movie (almost certainly not coming to a cinema near you) is doing big box-office here, even threatening to hole that other film juggernaut, Titanic.

It is a welcome renaissance for the country's film industry, which in the 1940s and 1950s regularly filled cinemas with the Arab world. Today, government censorship and heavy taxation have reduced the output to a dozen or so films, mostly trashy soaps given the big-screen treatment, which find an audience only at home.

Nasser's moment of glory, however, is likely to be brief. The enthusiasm for this home-grown blockbuster signals a mood for nostalgia than a sudden resurgence of nationalism.

The leader who took on the West and, in the case of the Suez canal, won in style, still enjoys immense popularity. But in a showdown with that other colossus of a colonel — Sanders, the man who gave the world Kentucky Fried Chicken — he might find Egyptians deserting in droves.

Despite the many nods the authorities have made to Islamising the culture, Western values, themes and icons hold sway here. As well as the KFCs, a McDonald's or a Pizza Hut can be found on the corner of almost every main street. In a city of 16 million that is a huge number of outlets.

Cairo, of course, provides its own spin on the American experience. Fast food here means a shawarma (kebab) or felafel bought from a street vendor, a family enjoying a McDonald's on the premises is likely to feel cheated unless it can make the meal last several hours.

This may hold a clue for Nasser's producers, if they are looking for a surefire follow-up. In *My Father* they have a local hero whose story panders to sentimentality about the past and yet aspires to modernity, too. The Dodi and Diana love story is etched into the Egyptian consciousness to a profoundly irrational degree and, as time passes, seems to gain an ever greater hold on the popular imagination. It is the talk of homes, cafes and McDonald's.

Magdi, a 20-year-old student from a wealthy Coptic family who regularly mixes with European students, might be expected to be a little more worldly-wise. But his version is typical: Charles, the spurned husband, and his wicked mother, the Queen, are cast as Disneyesque villains, personally responsible for the crash which killed Di and Dodi. Such views, constantly aired in one guise or another, transcend melodrama in a comic-book blend of conspiracy theory and fairy tale.

Dodi was on the verge of winning the band not just of a princess, but of a glamorous Western one.

Dodi and Di: The Movie has all the ingredients for an Arab epic. It is probably coming to a cinema near the Nile soon.



For real politics in the UK, go to the Muslims, go to the Catholics

Madeleine Bunting



A S A teenage rebel, I changed my first name; a matter of no importance to anyone other than my irritated teachers, my baffled family and, 17 years later, my local Social Security office. After several lengthy telephone calls, they asked me to come in for a 45-minute interview on the change of my name.

My point is not directed at Alistair Darling on the inefficiency of the welfare state. The experience of my local DSS was a bitter illustration of where the welfare state has failed, and where it is struggling with issues beyond its remit. At 10.30am, the office in Hackney, one of the most deprived areas of western Europe, was full of people waiting and some different nationalities were represented. You could not speak even to a receptionist until your docket was called, yet it took me a while to find a docket-dispenser. There were 20 people waiting ahead of me. The large room was silent except for the crying children. People avoided each other's eyes. An elderly, ill, white man was racially abused by a black receptionist.

I was impressed that the DSS had bothered to track me down after 17 years, but what horrified me was the stench of angry humiliation. These people are my neighbours, but suddenly thrown into a room with them, I realised how a car in a city enables you to select your community; neighbours become virtually meaningless.

My community is no longer geographical. I am a citizen of a city by establishing a network of work, friendship, family and leave the rest. Ease of transport opens up wider access, and enables us to avert our eyes

from what is virtually on our doorstep. How do you open up communication, and stitch together the social fabric of a neighbourhood from an enormous diversity of ethnic groups? In what way could the Bangladeshis, the Pakistani, the Indian, the African, the Irish, the single mother? There is no rallying ideal of citizenship as in America.

The welfare state, that crucial interface between government and subject, has never been about empowerment but about control. Even the terminology of "service" and "client" identifies the passivity of these welfare recipients. Only in the NHS has it ever succeeded in embodying a concept of solidarity. Britain's welfare state, under both Tory and Labour governments, has been entrenched in concepts of paternalistic hierarchy.

And, from a high-rise tower-block in Hackney, the highly disciplined, centralised New Labour appears only another permutation of that model. Add to that, a bitter local history of factional politics, and it is hardly surprising that voter turnout in Hackney is low, and there's so little interest in politics.

The conclusion of Neil Jamieson, of the Citizen Organising Foundation, which works in six areas across Britain, is that the most powerful form of social capital lies in many areas of east London is the faith communities.

He points to the East London Mosque in Whitechapel which attracts more than 1,000 men every Friday for prayers, or one of the cavernous Catholic churches, which can also see more than 1,000 people cross the threshold on a Sunday.

Jamieson, himself a Quaker, draws on that rich

dissemination tradition of political activism. The idea behind Telco, The East London Communities Organisation he has set up and to which he has recruited more than 40 member organisations, is unapologetically imported from American-style community organising.

Telco has just sent Abu Hassan of the East London Mosque on a training course with a Mexican community organisation in Texas. But the rhetoric is reminiscent of radical left-wing politics of the Seventies; Jamieson believes in "actions" and "struggle".

He argues that it is in face-to-face encounters that social solidarity emerges and seemingly insurmountable barriers of prejudice and stereotypes are overcome. Remember, demos and banners? It is in the struggle and the victories — sometimes small, sometimes big — that people learn self-confidence and skills of leadership that they never believed possible of themselves.

THE "struggles" are over the issues that directly affect the communities involved — from pedestrian crossings to demanding a quota for local people of the thousands of jobs in construction in Canary Wharf and on the Millennium Dome, from education to health, planning and transport.

The emphasis, says Jamieson, is demanding face-to-face meetings between Telco members and the people who determine their lives — for example, the chief executives of the health authority, their MPs or a director of one of the big City banks.

Yet this is a form of civic association — social capital — which has the secular, lib-

eral left-wing squirming uncomfortably. In all the trendy discussion about mutuality and fostering civic spirit among the secular, liberal left-wing, there is a real wariness of getting religion involved. For example, Charles Leadbeater's *Building a New Moral Crusade* for all their decline in membership — remain the biggest mutual institutions of civic society.

Of course, the wariness of mobilising faith communities for political ends is, in some ways, understandable. A paternalistic liberalism chooses on the idea of an empowered Muslim community that will not necessarily facilitate women's participation, or a Catholic community lobbying for the closure of an abortion clinic. Muslim identity is not all apple pie and neighbourhood watch schemes.

But what makes Telco and the sister organisations of the Citizen Organising Foundation in such places as Bristol and the Midlands such a fascinating experiment is that they are using institutions which reach into and attract immense loyalty among some of the most deprived communities in the country, to incubate concepts of citizenship and political participation.

Then they are building alliances between those faith communities in a complex task of getting those of different religions to respect each other. It's a brave attempt to answer the questions posed in the Social Security Office in Hackney.

Polly Toynbee is away

Conspiracy of truth

Peter Preston



DAVID Shayler is not a hero to seize the imagination. He is podgy, with — on the latest photograph — a singularly unpleasant beard. And his message is predictably unheroic, too. It tells us that the secret world of MI5 is full of stumblebums and paper shufflers compiling vast files on threats to the nation who wind up as Home Secretary or Industry Secretary a few years on. It is the cock-up theory of intelligence history yet again.

We are gorged on such cock-ups. We have banqueted on Burgess and Maclean, feasted on Philby, slipped too much cocaine late at night over the imbecilities of Peter Wright. We know that closed, bureaucratic organisations run to rampant inefficiency. That was why Mrs Thatcher began her privatisations. That is why Jack Straw is suddenly raging against the cosy club of sick days and early retirements for the police.

So what's new? What does Shayler bring to the party except more farcical fumbling? The great shift the good cluster defensively did the wheels of justice grind. All may, or may not, be revealed in court much later. Our August antennae remain at neutral. We have ceased to worry about conspiracies. But wait just a moment and roll the clock back a decade or two, when MI5 was busy filling its files with Straw and Mandelson and Patricia Hewitt, the very stuff of New Labour. What was happening in a couple of sunny spots well within our ken?

In Spain — democratic Spain, governed by charming New Socialists — the interior minister, the Señor Straw of his day, and his deputy, were fiddling public funds to finance the kidnapping of an innocent Basque businessman. Their orders held Se- gundo Marry incarcerated for 10 days while those who loved him despaired. Their officials and tame police staged the snatch. They were, quite literally, out of control.

Last week the Madrid Supreme Court sentenced these ex-ministers, José Barri- nuevo and Rafael Vera, to 10 years in prison. And they sentenced their sidekicks, too. They could not at this stage go further. Other trials with other defendants will have to take place before we know for sure who masterminded GAL, the Anti-Terror Liberation Groups, which, over the pre- cise span of the second Thatcher government, murdered 28 suspected Basque terrorists — many of whom, it transpired, were not terrorists at all.

The beleaguered Spanish state, beset by the wild men of Eta, fractured under pressure and cover of darkness. It took, by fair means and foul, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It kidnapped, authorised at the top, it killed, authorised somewhere along a mystic chain. And those episodes, that period of shame, is known because whistles were eventually blown and newspaper reporters turned over stones.

Meanwhile — at our second sunny spot — Eugene De Kock, a police commander at the Vlakplaas base in South Africa, was obeying orders as usual, killing black activists. He beat one to death with a with a spade. He bombed churches and trade union offices. We know because he has been convicted in formal court proceedings. And we know, from his lips, the men who gave the orders. Not pen-pushers in the middle, but the government ministers of the day, the reasonable fellows who wooed Mrs T against sanctions.

Vlakplaas, moreover, was no maverick institution. It had the Roopeplat Laboratory to share its load. There Dr Wouter Basson — as paid for and authorised by Pretoria — developed the compounds of seemingly "natural" death: millions of cholera organ-

isms, anthrax in the gum of envelopes, ways to lace drinks with the thallium that could rot the brain. Dr Basson had his orders, and those who gave them had lists of their intended murder victims in Britain and South Africa.

This was Project Coast, the state plan for chemical and biological murder. It is documented, and those documents exist. The evidence beyond them, from those who worked on this barbarous Coast, is commodious and impeccably marshalled according to what we may call the Lewinsky Assumption: the assumption that those who testify without fear of retribution before Archbishop Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission are telling the truth.

These were conspiracies. Spanish conspiracies. South African conspiracies. They reached to the heart of government. They are proven. They were — unrecognised, unexposed — part of the world of the Eighties we lived through and remember.

Why do we, so easily, assume that such conspiracies are dead — or confined to a few ramshackle "palaces" on the outskirts of Baghdad? José Barri-nuevo was sentenced to prison last week. Wouter Basson is now impaled on the book of his past. They were both servants of elected administrations which found, in desperation, other means to fight their battles and confront their enemies.

Of course it's impossible to take such examples and move them closer to 1998. A conspiracy to get Bill Clinton? Feels of empty inguiter and jokes about paranoia. A conspiracy to jump off Colonel Gaddafi or some other target of MI6? Such tales come from disaffected ex-officers in our intelligence who've broken "their vow of silence" to turn up the best.

What real chap gives credence to the unsubstantiated word of



MI5 was busy filling its files with Straw and Mandelson, the stuff of New Labour

manifest non-chaps? Where (familiar chirrup) is the evidence?

I wish I could be so blithe. When the first rumours of the GAL hit squads began to circulate, there was only incredulity. When the government of P W Botha was in the dock of public opinion, the depths of its secret depravity went unblinded. We have barely — through all the long, bitter years of Northern Ireland — stopped to inquire how the fight against terrorism was waged in detail, according to which edition of the *Queensberry Rules*.

The triumph of Spain last week is that it did stop to ask and explore its murky past. The triumph of South Africa is that it has found a way of confronting the evil that flowed within it. But we ask no such questions and seek no such triumphs. We construct our ethical foreign policies and open official MI6 websites. We pursue those who rock, even gangster, our boat piled high with complacency.

Just another stinking cock-up, old boy. Just another bunch of flakes hunting a little cheap publicity. Let us hope so.

Hint, in an era where everything from Bloody Sunday to the ghost of Derek Bentley may be disinterred for apologetics when it is all too late; when every certainty of today is tomorrow's shame: don't hold your breath.

Endpiece: Frank response

Roy Hattersley



I AM oot, and never had been, a Frank Field enthusiast. Only a couple of months ago, he reminded me that my failure to appreciate his true value goes back nearly a decade. When he was on the point of "deselection" by his Merseyside constituency, Labour's National Executive Committee had to decide whether or not to mount a rescue expedition. Field asked me if I proposed to support the rescue mission.

Apparently (it was Field who recalled the incident), I

replied "in a voice like ice" that I would "do what is best for the party". My reply, although embarrassingly pompous, illustrated my scepticism about the aura of sanctity by which he was surrounded.

Although my view has not changed with the years, it seems that — over the last couple of days — Field has been treated shamefully by the increasingly unattractive government publicity machine. His resignation speech was as politically inconvenient as it was personally ill-judged. It began with a catalogue of Field's achievements and ended with a litany of other ministers' failures.

His request for promotion to the Cabinet was not grown-up behaviour. But, although embarrassing, his conduct did not justify Saturday's assault. The speech entitled commentators — myself among them — to report what a veteran MP said on Thursday afternoon. "Frank has never been reconciled to the Queen's failure to ask him to form a government after

the general election." But when the cheap shots are being fired, the Downing Street publicity machine has a duty to choose its ammunition with discretion.

It was not Field's numerous backbench critics who gave him the fancy title of Minister for Welfare Reform, arranged for him to be appointed to that office long before most of the Cabinet were called to No 10 and talked nonsense about him being asked "to think the unthinkable". It was the people who turned on him two days ago.

No doubt Alistair Darling — unlike the doomed Harman-Field mismatch — will make rapid progress towards welfare reform. Darling is one of the ablest members of a generally able Cabinet and, unlike some of his ministerial colleagues, is willing to talk openly about his transition from municipal left-winger to impeccable moderniser — a sign of grace in repentant sinners which every revivalist preacher will recognise. But his predecessors in the job

never had a chance to achieve what is within his power. Field, the middle-ranking minister in the Social Security Department, was given policy authority over Harriet Harman, his boss. Government cannot work in that way. Part of the responsibility for the year's failure lies with whoever thought up the novel scheme.

It would be easy to blame the error on the Prime Minister's inexperience. But that is not an interpretation of events. The people who advise Tony Blair on news management thought of Field — fabled by right-wing think-tanks and idolised by Tory tabloid newspapers — as a public relations initiative made flesh. They were interested in headlines not welfare reform.

Phrases like "daringly radical" not "fully-funded benefits" were on their minds. Indeed, it is unlikely that they had grasped the central dilemma with which a reforming minister had to wrestle. Is welfare reform an attempt to

create a coherent system of benefits and contributions or is it a way of reducing public expenditure? In the short run, it cannot be both at the same time.

CLEARLY, Field could not stay on as a dubious deputy and happy rival to Darling. It would be absurd to ask anyone who looks so like Svengali to play the part of Trilby. So the Minister for Welfare Reform and indeed the title, which was really only a sound-bite, had to go. The once-great guru of social policy was offered a job, which — being an evangelist not a politician — he was certain to refuse. Inevitably, he made a resignation statement which asserted the righteousness of his cause.

In short, Field, not surprisingly, behaved like Field and exhibited all the characteristics which made him such a public relations machine last year. So the Downing Street publicity machine turned on him — determined

to diminish him in public esteem, confirm that he was no real loss to the Government and dispute his claim that his reforms were frustrated by the Treasury. And they chose to do it in a particularly vindictive way. Most readers of yesterday's newspapers were, no doubt, bewildered by the arcane details of Cabinet relationships and the moral implications of rival pension schemes. But they will have gained the impression that a group of thoroughly nasty people have attacked the saintly Field because they are afraid of his ideas.

The anonymous assaults create a mental picture of the bully who throws a brick through a neighbour's window and runs away. Field, on the other hand, appears to remain a man of power, whose ideas can still embarrass the Government. The Downing Street press office should lay off Field now. As well as being innumerate conduct, that — if I can repeat my pompous advice — would be best for the party.

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E-mail: letters@guardian.co.uk
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A flawed commission

Truth has its limits

THE WRIT held by South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission to hold hearings on human rights violations has now run out. It still faces a mountain of work, with a five-volume report to President Mandela by the end of October and some 2,000 amnesty applications still to decide, a task which will take it well into the New Year. Yet it's a time to congratulate Archbishop Tutu and his team, having discharged a near-impossible task with integrity and courage. They have survived.

Admiration for the goodly cleric, however, should not be allowed to obscure the limitations of the commission and less positive aspects of its work. Its main achievement is the impact it has had on Afrikanerdom. It brought home to that community the true nature of what many had believed to be a struggle for Christian values and Western standards against the evils of terrorism and atheistic communism. This humiliating realisation, that theirs was the

true terrorism, more worthy of Antichrist's cause, seems to have defused right-wing militancy even if the scale of the effect cannot be directly measured.

In other respects the educative value of the commission is debatable. There are unquestionably some big holes in its work. The armed forces, in particular, have called the commission's bluff by their non-cooperation. Problems of jurisdiction prevented the full story of atrocities committed by the South African state abroad from emerging — such as political assassinations in Europe and experiments in the use of poison during the Rhodesian bush war. P.W. Botha has been obdurate. The National Party government destroyed secret files. Thus attempts to pin down the culpability of senior politicians have been frustrated. Limits imposed on the commission's jurisdiction prevented the ANC camps scandal — the reverse side of the racial coin where apartheid-era atrocity was concerned — from being ventilated.

The quality of the "truth" the commission has uncovered must anyway be questionable. Its final report will, in general terms, be a reasonably fair representation of the crimes committed in the name of apartheid and of the liberation struggle. But findings will inevitably be heavily dependent on confession and there remain good reasons why the courts and the common law are

prejudiced against evidence of that kind. The contribution of the commission to the cause of reconciliation must also be viewed with some scepticism. Recent polls suggest that racial polarisation has never been as deeply felt as now in post-apartheid South Africa: the commission may well have contributed to that mood. Most seriously, the process by which amnesty has been granted has required applicants to show their bombings and killings had a political dimension; this has undermined the principle of personal responsibility so central to the lessons of Nuremberg. Instead, notions of collective responsibility have been accepted, which translate in the South African context into generalisations about racial innocence and guilt, and this must be damaging.

It is argued that amnesty was necessary to unlock the "secrets" of apartheid. But it could be argued that if the millions spent on the commission had instead been allocated to the admirable work of the Transvaal Attorney-General, Jan d'Oliveira, and his professional investigators, as much could have been achieved in a manner which would not have compromised the rule of law.

South Africa's comparatively peaceful transition to majority rule has been held out as a model for conflict resolution, particularly applicable in Northern Ireland. The

truth commission is a central part of that model. But while the value of a formal inquiry into the history of civil conflict such as that in Ireland is beyond question, experience does not demand a repetition of Archbishop Tutu's adventures in pursuit of the truth.

Shaylergate

Prosecution will cost Labour dear

BY GETTING David Shayler arrested this weekend, Labour is on its way to its very own Spycatcher-cum-Ponting affair. It will regret it, just as the Tories rue those episodes in British citizens' continuing education about their secret state. A chain of events will now unfold, at the end of which lies huge political embarrassment for the Home Secretary, the minister ostensibly in charge of the Security Service, M15, Shayler's former employers. Jack Straw, golden boy of late, is going to lose glister. And it will be his own fault for adopting, like every Labour Home Secretary before him, that deferential, more royalist than the king attitude towards core institutions of the British state such as the monarchy, the Commons... and the secret services. If Mr Shayler is extradited, he will be

prosecuted for disclosing phone taps on journalists, files on Treasury and Trade ministers, past operations and incompetence. Mr Shayler may have been intending to make allegations about the Secret Intelligence Service going to Colonel Gaddafi what Churchill's government decided not to do to Adolf Hitler, but such claims are not going to be put to a jury. The issue is what Mr Shayler has said. Yet the Home Secretary effectively gave clearance to Mr Shayler by distinguishing between fair criticism of M15 and disclosures harming national security. Does this mean telling us the Home Secretary was once monitored is actionable? His barrister will have a field day.

Twenty-first century Britain needs a security apparatus of some kind but also a scheme for making it accountable. Until M15, an agency which hugged and bugged around London to bring down a Labour prime minister, has been thoroughly reformed, historically exonerated and prevented from hiding ineffectiveness behind a mask of secrecy, it does not deserve legal protection above and beyond what the civil law gives all employers. David Shayler makes a poor hero. But prosecuting him while leaving the core problem of national security operations unaddressed will turn him into a martyr and cost Jack Straw and colleagues dear.

Letters to the Editor

Churchill, the CIA and Clinton

ROBERT Rhodes James's account of the argument about 1 Day between Churchill and the King (How Churchill planned to go to war, August 1), contains nothing new of any significance. Churchill told the whole story, with the full text of four letters exchanged between the two, in volume five of his *The Second World War*, published in 1952. Richard Jameson, Aldbury, Herts.

FRANCIS Whelan's statement (Reinvention of Julian Lewis, July 22) that "Crozler's private intelligence agency — codenamed 'The 61' — was secretly financed by the CIA" is misleading. The CIA did help, with assistance to operations abroad, but it did not "finance" The 61. The bulk of its funds came from rich individuals and a few private companies. The CIA's share of its budget — in the 10 years it existed — never exceeded 5 per cent. Brian Crozier, London.

I AM confused by this bike ride going on in France. Is the chap wearing the yellow jersey the one who doesn't take drugs? M C Cowi, Reigate, Surrey.

SO THE American people are about to listen seriously to a person who has neglected to wash out a rather unpleasant stain on a dress for two and a half years now? Laura Stuart, Nottingham.

IT'S not cunning linguistics (Letters, August 1). That's a fallacious conclusion, surely? Chris Nash, Southampton.

LINTON and Lewinsky. So what? Ken Tatlow, Bromborough, Merseyside.

WHAT sort of value system have we come to accept when the Guardian lavishes praise (Look at me, Weekend, August 1) on a "performance artist" whose main claim to fame appears to be that he defecates over his audiences? Prue Bray, Wokingham, Berks.

Bentley's legal challenge

I WAS 9 years old when they hanged Derek Bentley (The killing of Derek Bentley, July 31). I was struck even at that age by the manifest unfairness of his conviction and execution. It would be a fitting memorial for those who campaigned ceaselessly for and for all calls for the return of capital punishment were ended. It would also be welcome if the decision was a sign that at long last the Court of Appeal recognises that public confidence in the judicial system is strengthened when mistakes are acknowledged and rectified rather than buried.

It will also cement the growing credibility of the Criminal Cases Review Commission, which needs to be provided with extra resources urgently to deal with its growing backlog of similar cases. Campbell J Malone, Solicitors, Salford.

THE credit given to the CCRC for referring Derek Bentley's case back to the Court of Appeal must not overshadow the determined work of his sister and her daughter (Backdated Justice, July 31). Like many others, overwhelmingly women, their work challenged the police, lawyers (prosecution and defence), judges and ministers who were involved.

A closer look at some of the

cases the CCRC referred back so far — such as that of Derek Bentley, Mahmood Hussein Mattan and Paddy Nicholas — reveals that the police, lawyers, judges and/or pathologists responsible for the wrongful conviction are dead. Doubts about the CCRC's independence will not be allayed unless it refers back cases such as that of Winston Silcott, where those responsible are alive and in positions of authority.

The Lawrence Inquiry has exposed the depth of racism in the Metropolitan Police. Winston Silcott as one of the Tottenham Three has already been the victim of one miscarriage of justice; police manufactured evidence but no officer has been convicted. Instead, it is Winston who is still in prison.

The CCRC's decision about his case is expected soon. Will we have to wait for the deaths of all those responsible before Winston's name is cleared? Mary Silcott (Winston Silcott's mother), Niki Adams, (Legal Action for Women), London.

TAMSON Allen sets out in depressing detail the resistance of our legal system to putting things right (Comment, July 31). Their desire to be seen as never making mistakes is a grave error, costly to

the admirable Bentley family and countless others.

If we replaced Lord Chancellor with an elected Constitutional Complaints Court, the culture of cover up would wither away.

The last government recognised that an independent body was needed to sort out the embarrassing number of miscarriages of justice on the criminal side. This government should acknowledge that the principle applies to the civil division as well. Suzon Forsey-Moore, Campaign for a Fair Hearing, Oxford.

THE sheer speed of the criminal justice process in 1952-53 appears remarkable by today's standards. A mere six weeks passed between arrest and sentence. Nowadays the process takes much longer, but there are calls for the state to "provide a better service to the customer" and to save money by raising the speed of the conveyor-belt once again. Neil Hambro, Isle of Lewis.

MUST have got the name wrong, I thought Nicolas Walker and something to do with the Nationalist Press. But somehow the word rational didn't didn't spring to mind reading his farewell message (Letters, August 1). Valentine Farrell, Blackpool.



Transsexuals want their birthright

IN handing down their decision not to support the rights of transsexuals to change their birth certificates (Sex-change recognition fight lost at Strasbourg, July 31), the European Court of Human Rights indicated that the harm to the transsexual to have to disclose their original sex was not serious. This is a regretful and patently inaccurate observation. My spouse is a transsexual and the pain and emotional trauma to which she is exposed if she is required to reveal her former registered sex is intolerable. We have remained together as a family after her transition and fully supported her through the transitional period and are very proud of her achievements. The issue of the birth certifi-

cate is so pivotal to her life that, although I love her dearly, I was prepared to petition for a divorce if that would have facilitated the change (as we would have been an illegal same sex marriage) and our son would have agreed to this. It is a human right to have one's birth certificate either altered or clearly amended. The one poignant factor is that if this right is not granted, in death, the death certificate would be issued as if she were a male. Valma Mewett, Torquay.

We do not publish letters where only an e-mail address is supplied; please include a full postal address. We may edit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear.

Animal-human transplants could be a pig in a poke

YOU report Lord Hahgood, chairman of the UKXIRA (Official go-ahead for pig to human transplant tests, July 31) as saying: "At the moment there doesn't seem to be a viable alternative..." These are surprising words from someone who has in the past warned about the threats biotechnology poses to human values. Four considerations demand serious attention: the largely indeterminate risks to human health — and not just to the patients — and animal welfare; recognition that few people consider xenotransplantation morally acceptable — only 36 per cent of Europeans according to the recent Eurobarometer survey; the extensive range of alternatives, both preventative and therapeutic, which exist or could be developed; and the economic and social implications of a future "insatiable demand" for organ transplants. Mr Dolson's statement makes explicit reference only to the first of these.

Allowing xenotransplantation without due attention to such concerns might prove as imprudent as it is, to most people, ethically unacceptable. Dr Ben Mephum, Centre for Applied Bioethics, University of Nottingham.

THE announcement of new guidelines on xenotransplantation may have given the impression that animal-to-human transplants will be sav-

ing human lives in the imminent future. But hype and hope have obscured the fact that the obstacles to xenotransplantation are enormous.

The unpredictable consequences of the introduction of genetically modified pig tissue into living human subjects and, in particular, the risk of novel infectious diseases being introduced to the human population as a result of animal-to-human virus transfer overshadow all consideration of this matter.

Animal and human organs differ in many ways: in their production of hormones; in their rates of filtration, secretion and absorption of electrolytes, enzymes, and other chemical substances; in their physical structure; and their expected longevity. Any one of these could prove an insurmountable obstacle. The implication now that a cure to the shortage of organs for transplant is only a few animal experiments away raises premature, and almost certainly false, hope. Xenotransplantation is not a panacea: it is speculative, potentially dangerous, and more a product of the financial high-risk, high-reward principles of commercial biotechnology than a considered and prudent response to the organ shortage.

Alistair Currie, Xenotransplantation Concern, Sheffield.

Flippin' 'eck!

HAVING reviewed the English language teaching version of Wallace and Gromit's *The Wrong Trousers* for an ELT journal I have compared the initial and simplified ELT versions of the videos. I can, as an applied linguist — though one who has never heard of what Chomsky MP Lindsey Hoyle describes as "clipped English" — confirm that this is the delightful Peter Sallis voiceover, in Mr Sallis's equally delightful fruity northern dialect. Don't be misled, Mr Hoyle and the 14 co-signers of the early day motion condemning Peter and Karen Viney's splendid teaching materials (MPs get trousers in a twist

over Wallace, July 31). There isn't much speech in the original *Wrong Trousers*, so for teaching purposes, the Vineys have added much more — that is more Peter Sallis's northern English. It makes it a better teaching aid, and gives more exposure to the dialect that Mr Hoyle and his irascible buddies seem to favour. My advice to fellow northern constitutions is this: if your MP is one of the *Wrong Trousers* 15, ask them how come they are at such a loose end as to give their time, which we pay for very generously, to a bout of ill-informed and bloody-minded parody. I know it's the silly season, but flippin' 'eck! George Kershaw, ELT author, Stockport.

Body work

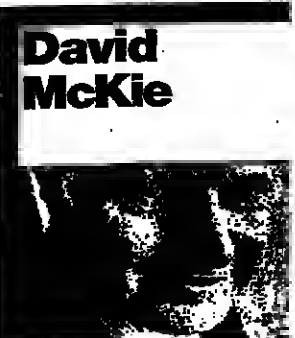
THE size and extent of the *Clitoris* (Women's more generously about my monuments, thought, July 30) has been well known at least since the early 1970s, when the Boston Women's Health Book Collective published *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. It is gratifying that at last some doctors are catching up and researching the subject, including the effects of inept and incompetent surgery on female sexuality. The latest UK edition of the book, by Angela Phillips and Sue Lawton, is a welcome space to the clitoris, complete with diagrams. Jill Rakusen, Sound Health, Huddersfield.

Mandela's bust

CANON Paul Oestreicher's *Clitoris* (Letters, July 18) about my monuments bust of Nelson Mandela at the Royal Festival Hall were an affirmative recognition of the significance this image has had since it was erected there for the GLC's "Year Against Racism". While I support his suggestion that Mandela should be commemorated in the environs of Trafalgar Square, I disagree that the bust should be removed from its present site, which he says is "highly visible" and "relatively obscure", for that purpose. Since 1985, thousands of people have passed by the bust every day as they cross Hun-

gerford Bridge on their way to and from Waterloo Station. The way it combines with the spatial values of its site, turns people's heads — and, in doing so, fulfilling the purpose, during Mandela's imprisonment, of keeping his image and the issues alive apartheid tried to obliterate. The site, against the great white stone wall of the Festival Hall is a great one for a sculpture with a history. It belongs to this place. A new sculpture would be the appropriate tribute. The bust was made of necessity from photographs. I propose pondering statue, this time representing the free and purposeful life which Nelson Mandela is now living. Ian Walters, London.

Vile maxims



THE FIGHT is by no means over to reverse the decision of Fife County Council to delete the name of Adam Smith, author of *The Wealth of Nations* and an honoured son of Kirkcaldy, from the district council, so perhaps she would say that anyway. The dispute has been raging with a fair degree of venom and the smokes of old scores being settled in the correspondence columns of

the *Fife Free Press*. "It's an example," wrote Jim Parker of Glenrothes, "of the intellectual standard that we are now expected to subsidise in the new devolved Scottish Parliament."

A curious letter published on July 3 from Councillor Helen Eadie merely served to confirm the suspicion that the council was up to political tricks. It began with a reference to an AA Illustrated Guide to Britain published 25 years ago which opened its piece on Kirkcaldy by discussing the length of the High Street, which is more than a mile long. Adam Smith, she conceded, was mentioned later, but so was the famous architect Robert Adam, also born in Kirkcaldy. The trouble, she said, was this: Kirkcaldy was spoiled for choice. It could also boast, *inter alia*, the 13th-century scientist Michael Scott, who also had a name as a wizard, the explorer John McDouall Stuart, Michael Nairn, the linoleum tycoon, Thomas Carlyle, who

though not born in Kirkcaldy, taught for a while in a school there; and the patron saint of Kirkcaldy, St Dyoce.

THIS produced a sharp response from the chair of the local Civic Society, Ann Walters. "Disappointed", who did not give an address, pointed out that at Falkirk five or six of the town's famous sons, but no twin towns, were named on the signboards. What's been missing from this discussion, though it may come close to the heart of it, is whether Adam Smith is quite the Turtledove hatchman that the lady's enthusiasm for him suggested he might be. The *Wealth of Nations* — largely written in Kirkcaldy, to which he kept returning throughout his life — is a very long book which cannot be mastered even on trains from London to Kirkcaldy and back. It is certainly full of Panglossian declarations that the pursuit of self-interest tends to lead, through the operation of an "invisible hand", to the general good; and that governments which try to help with intervention and regulation most often

succeed in making things worse.

Yet the motives behind these sentiments are less bleak than his reputation suggests. He is constantly on the watch for rich merchants who try to lure governments into measures expressed in terms of the public welfare but really designed to shore up themselves. At times he attacks fat cats helping themselves to excessive profits in far flatter terms than those deployed since the last election by Her Majesty's ministers. One can even find texts which would not come amiss from socialist councillors. I suggest that Councillor May should reinstate his name on the boundary signs, but appending, for instance, this quotation, which she'll find on page 366 of the *Everyman* edition: "All for ourselves and nothing for other people seems, in every age of the world, to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind."

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Zbigniew Herbert

Songs of solidarity for Poland

Walk upright past those down upon their knees
Past those with their backs turned and cast into dust
You did not survive just to live
You have little time and must give testimony

ZBIGNIEW HERBERT, who has died aged 73, wrote those lines in 1974 and millions of Poles at last found a man from whom they could take inspiration. They would turn to him again and again after 1981, when martial law was declared, Solidarity banned, and a nation's hopes brutally quashed.

Born the son of a bank manager in the then Polish city of Lwów (now Ukrainian Lviv), Herbert was only 15 when the Red Army tanks entered the city and he was catapulted into a life-long cycle of war, national defeat and repression. From the outset, his refusal to compro-

mise his values or his country's national aspirations was clear. When Soviet insignias and a portrait of Stalin were hung in Herbert's classroom, he responded by turning the desks 180 degrees in protest, exposing himself and his family to the risk of deportation to Siberia. Thankfully, the stunt was overlooked.

Soon, Lwów was under Nazi control and Herbert was a signed-up member of the Home Army, Poland's national resistance movement, under whose auspices he began a university education in secret. When thousands of Home Army officers died in 1944, in the tragic attempt to liberate Warsaw from Nazi rule, Herbert vowed always to remain true to their romantic spirit.

After the second world war was over, Herbert studied law and philosophy in Kraków, Toruń, and finally in Warsaw, where he settled in

1950. His official debut as a poet came in 1956 with a collection of poems *String of Light*, although his poetry was in circulation as early as 1950. His universal themes, extracted from Greek and Roman antiquity, together with his refusal to follow the socialist-realist school, led the communist authorities to brandish him a class traitor, and it was not until 1987 and the end of Poland's so-called Stalinist period that Herbert was able to find regular work with a number of literary publications.

The transition from neoclassical poet to national bard did not begin until 1974 and the publication of a collection of poems featuring the now legendary Mr Cogito, an observer of human fortunes who is desperately searching a way to live his life. Mr Cogito returned in Herbert's 1983 collection, the overtly-political *Report from the Besieged City*, printed in

Paris and in Poland by Solidarity's underground press. The work details a nation's collective suppression, where only its inhabitants' dreams are yet to be humiliated. It offers a damning critique of communism in the character of Damascus, the social corrector, who chops off body parts and stretches others to ensure all citizens conform to the same measurements. "Pa-



tients died, but the more that perished. The more I was sure, that my tests were just. The aim was commendable/Progress requires victims."

Together with the Nobel laureates Czesław Miłosz and Wisława Szymborska, and the poet Tadeusz Różewicz, Herbert was recognised by critics as one of Poland's four great post-war poets. Many were surprised that he too was never acknowledged by the Nobel committee: abroad, his name is perhaps more well known than that of his Polish contemporaries, with his poems widely-read in both the German and English-speaking worlds. Two collections of essays on art, *Barbarian in the Garden* and *Still Life with a Bird*, also enjoyed wide critical success overseas.

Miłosz himself acted as Herbert's English translator, and subsequently became a close friend of the poet before a public fall-out some years ago. The two strongly differed over Polish war-time history as well as on their visions for the new, independent Poland. While Miłosz remained the relative pragmatist, Herbert remained an outspoken anti-communist until his death, and never accepted the effective amnesty granted to ex-communists in 1989, nor their subsequent presence in democratic Polish politics.

Despite deteriorating health in recent years, Herbert continued to write up to his death, his latest collection being published earlier this year. He passed away in the early morning, just as a violent storm was breaking over Warsaw.

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Neil Bowdler

Zbigniew Herbert, poet and essayist, born October 28, 1924; died July 28, 1998.

Constance Cox

New life for old stories

THE playwright Constance Cox, who has died aged 82, was a pioneer in adapting big novels for the small screen. Her work for BBC-TV in the late 1950s and 1960s for the Sunday classic serial slot included the award-winning *Jane Eyre* and *Martin Chuzzlewit* (for which she won the Television and Screenwriters Award).

In 1964 she received the prestigious American Screenwriters Guild award for her television adaptations. Although some critics accused the former sub-postmistress from Shoreham-on-Sea of "ransacking enduringly good novels and short stories to make transiently successful entertainments", Cox's work for the West End stage was notable for luring star names to appear in the leading roles.

The Shakespearean actor Donald Wolfit took her *The Romance of David Garrick* into his repertoire. Clare Luce came to the Comedy Theatre from the United States to play Becky Sharp in Cox's *Vanessa Fair*, and, 20 years later, Edward Wood played the role of *Two Cities* hero Sydney Carton in a musical version, *Two Cities*, for which Cox wrote the half-comic book.

Having voraciously fastened on the Regency age as the "most gay-spirited" period of history to read about, much of Cox's best work drew from it. In her writing she would endlessly rewrite, speaking the lines to herself so that they came trippingly off the tongue. And though her battles with Regency authors diminished a little after her marriage to a

man more interested in motor racing than drama, she resumed with greater intensity from the start of the second world war. During the Battle of Britain, in which her pilot husband fought — he was killed two years later when his plane was shot down — the adaptation of books for the stage was a way of passing the time and easing the tension.

Cox went on to raid — with shrewdness and humour — more than 30 novels for the stage and, later, television, by authors ranging from Dickens and Trollope to Jane Austen and Tolstoy, Charlotte Brontë and Dumas. Did Cox herself create any classics? Well, her handling of Oscar Wilde's short story, *Lord Arthur Savile's Crime* (1952), may not have been her best work but it is surely her funniest, hovering between an absurdist farce and comedy and the humour of P G Wodehouse. Small wonder it is often revived.

Whether she wrote plays or adaptations, everything Constance Cox did as a dramatic author was unquestionably done with a sympathetic attempt to distinguish between the needs of the reader and of the theatregoer. And everyone would agree that the lady from a Brighton tobaccoist's had the knack, acquired laboriously since childhood, of plundering great novels of the 18th and 19th centuries with skill, humour and clarity.

Eric Shorter

Constance Cox, playwright, born October 23, 1915; died July 4, 1998



The play's the thing... Constance Cox (right) dressing for the part of Rosalind in a 1955 production of *As You Like It*

A Country Diary

THE LAKE DISTRICT: Loughrigg, of modest height but sprawling in area to perhaps four square miles, is the perfect answer for the elderly seeking an untravelling mountain round, parents with energetic toddlers, school parties trying out their maps and compasses, or people visiting Lakeland for the first time and wanting to spy out the land. From the top, you can see a score of favourite mountain walks, including the whole length of

the Fairfield Horseshoe and an enchanting bird's eye view of Grasmere and Rydal Water, yachts on Windermere and the tiny specks of traffic going over Dummall Raise. The other day, on the summit, I was asked by a father for directions to the enormous cave, about a mile away to the north-east, which his toddler son was anxious to see. Another father asked me to point out the Scylla; his son was in that area trying a traverse of



Farlow... To fellow-guitarists his work was hypnotic, dominated by original phrasing and startling speed of thought and action

Tal Farlow

The well-tempered guitar

FOR all the pre-eminence of the guitar in the second half of this century, jazz guitarists have usually had to do something friendlier than deliver streams of notes on eccentric melodies at breakneck speeds to get to be household names. George Benson, the late Wes Montgomery, and Pat Metheny, all grew — or shrank — into big stars for softer styles of jazz with unambiguous pop references, but Tal Farlow, the Carolina-born guitarist who has died at the age of 77, was always content to remain a musician's musician.

His extraordinary technique and fluency influenced many younger players, including one of the best known contemporary fusion guitar stars, John McLaughlin. But Farlow knew, or cared, little about such accidental notoriety, and for most of his career regarded himself as a part-time player who just happened to have figured something out that nobody had bothered to learn before.

A long, lean, quietly spoken, affable man, Farlow managed to be a charismatic figure in live performance, despite — or perhaps because of — the fact that he said little, and was happiest just crouching over his guitar with an amiable smile on his bony face. His fingers were so long it was impossible to avoid being mesmerised by their animation as he played; those digits, and the astonish-

ingly vivid effects he could produce with them, led to him being nicknamed the Octopus.

To fellow-guitarists he was hypnotic. His virtuosity was many, but dominated by original, unacknowledged phrasing and startling speed of thought and action, with a subdued grace imparting a sheen to it all. Farlow frequently voiced his melodies through chords and octaves, which helped him avoid the spindly, rather anaemic texture of much post-war jazz guitar. His improvised melody lines pursued resolutions long delayed, yet their balance and logic imparted a momentum that drove listeners to the same conclusion along with him.

Farlow was also supremely indifferent to the pitfalls of uptempo playing, and his improvisations would lose none of their clarity when the music cranked up to warp speed. He might introduce ballads with liquid, casually woven, chords or blends of oddly angled melodic attacks, low register muttering, difficult, filigreeing figures, and sudden country-hinged chords — the whole concoction frequently flavoured with bright, ping-pong harmonics.

On fast pieces, Farlow might deliver ascending fusillades of whirling, rapidly struck chords amid the flying single notes, a trademark that followers of early McLaughlin would recognise.

Tal Farlow was born in

Greensboro, North Carolina. His father was an amateur musician and taught his son guitar from early childhood. But though the boy quickly showed promise, the Depression years and the dead-end prospects of work in the local textile mills urged the family toward encouraging a saleable skill, and Farlow learned sign painting, as too originally had Duke Ellington. He showed considerable creative

talent for it, and the option kept him ambivalent about a full-time career in jazz. Inspired at first by the swing stars, and by Benny Goodman's brilliant, bop-inclined guitarist Charlie Christian, Farlow turned professional in the mid-1940s, when he joined the New York band of the singer- pianist and vibraphonist Dariusz Dardanelle. The gig did not do much for his musical development, but moving to New York and hearing Charlie Parker at close range certainly did. At-

tempting to adapt Parker's headlong sax lines for the guitar, Farlow built on an already formidable technique.

But when the stringencies of post-war economics hit the swing business, he returned to sign-painting until 1949, when he joined two demanding chamber-sized jazz groups in succession — first the clarinetist Buddy DeFranco's, then the vibes-player Red Norvo's, which featured Charles Mingus on bass. The latter ensemble particularly stretched Farlow's already considerable abilities.

Norvo was a superb technician, who played a bop-influenced music of delicate intensity at great speed, and initially Farlow found the velocity of the music too much for him. But in setting himself the task of learning a way of keeping up with the group's momentum, he turned himself in the early years of the 1950s into the fastest jazz guitar player of the time.

Farlow travelled to the West Coast with the Norvo group, and in 1953 also worked with Artie Shaw, a gifted, temperamental and popular swing bandleader, who was nevertheless as undecided about a permanent future in the music business as Farlow was himself. By the mid-1950s, he was attracting enough attention to have begun to win jazz polls, and to make his own records — first for Blue Note, and then for Norman Granz's Verve label,

often in the company of the rousing pianist Eddie Costa.

At the end of the 1950s, with the rise of rock 'n' roll making jazz employment increasingly unstable, Farlow's relaxed attitude to his career path and laid-back enthusiasm for a quiet life led to ever-longer withdrawals from club work and road-life. He married, and moved to Sea Bright, New Jersey, occupying himself reading and teaching guitar (self-taught, Farlow never learned to read music well, so studio work was never a serious option) and for much of the 1960s he maintained this low profile, though occasionally releasing records as a leader.

He increasingly returned to live playing from the late 1960s on, playing the Newport Jazz Festival and touring again in a George Wein band that included Red Norvo. In the early 1980s, the Red Norvo trio was successfully reformed, and Farlow also occasionally worked in an exhibitionistic but entertaining all-guitar band with Herbie Ellis and Charlie Byrd. Until 1995, when failing health stopped him travelling, he was a frequent visitor to the UK, where he was a popular draw in clubs all over the country.

Farlow is survived by his wife, Michele Hyk-Farlow.

John Fordham

Tal Farlow, jazz guitarist, born June 7, 1921; died July 25, 1998

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

CHRISTOPHER CRAIG was 16-years-old when he took part in the robbery and murder for which Derek Bentley was executed, not 14 as we said in our report (page 1, 31 July) on the posthumous quashing of Bentley's conviction.

ON the map of Britain (page 16, Analysis: Trashing the crops, 31 July), an additional area of southern Scotland was mis-labelled "Cairngorms",

as well as the correct spot further north.

It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Please quote date and page number. Readers may contact the Readers' Editor on 0171 559 5059 between 10am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Letters to the Editor, The Guardian, 119, Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Fax: 0171 239 5897. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk

Jorge Pacheco Areco

Boxer boss

NOT many boxers become president, even in Latin America. But that was not the only surprise when Jorge Pacheco Areco, who has died aged 78, took office in Uruguay in December, 1987.

It was the sudden death of President Oscar Gestido, a retired general just nine months into office, that catapulted the unlikely figure of Pacheco Areco into the top job. A hitherto undistinguished Colorado Party congressman, he had become Gestido's running-mate the previous year thanks only to the refusal of at least three others to accept the offer.

To be fair, his youthful talents as a boxer and prize-winning gymnast were matched by skills in the fields of journalism and teaching. But whatever his sympathies for the liberal arts, they did not impede his enthusiasm for censorship once in office. It is as a practitioner of *mano dura* (roughly translated as "the iron fist") that he is most widely remembered.

During Pacheco's presidency, half a dozen newspapers were shut down, while many others suffered partial closure. Within a week of taking office he had issued a decree outlawing five left-wing political groups, banned the independent, left-wing daily *Epoca* and ordered the arrest of its editor. He militarised universities and workplaces, imposed an almost continuous state of emergency, and presided over the beginning of an era of death squads and disappearances. On several occasions the parliamentary opposition sought to impeach him for violating the constitution.

Seen by the right as a man who — had his bid for re-election prospered in 1971 — might have forestalled the 1973 military coup, he continues to be regarded on the left as the forerunner of the 1973-85 dictatorship of the generals in Uruguay.

In the late 1960s South America echoed to the battle cries of a wide variety of guerrilla movements. Che Gueva-

He presided over death squads and censorship

ra's bones were only recently buried and the National Liberation Movement (MLN, or Tupamaros) of Uruguay was stepping up its campaign of kidnappings and bombings. The British ambassador, Geoffrey Jackson, was among the kidnapping victims and although he survived, the CIA agent, Dan Mitrione, was executed by the MLN.

Along with much of the rest of the world, Uruguay in 1968 was also the scene of intense student and worker unrest, fuelled in this case by a worsening economic crisis. Packing his cabinet with landowners, bankers and wealthy businessmen, President Pacheco responded by imposing an IMF economic package, including a wage freeze, and using force to suppress the demonstrators. Before the year was out three students had been killed by police. Less than two years later Uruguay registered its first disappeared prisoner.

AFTER — reluctantly — leaving office, Jorge Pacheco Areco served as ambassador in Spain, Switzerland, the United States and Paraguay. But however far away they sent him he continued to dream of a political comeback, seeking the presidential nomination for the Colorado Party four times, most recently in 1994.

According to President Julio María Sanguinetti, who was a member of Pacheco's cabinet, the late president "helped build the peace of the country, enjoys today, and that is why there will be peace in his grave".

It is a curious kind of peace, however, that continues to provoke deep splits in the nation even in the week of his death. The left boycotted a parliamentary session convened to pay homage to Pacheco, in a response characterised by right-wingers as divisive and petty. For while Sanguinetti regards the torture and bloodshed of the 1970s solely as "a matter for historians," the legacy of Jorge Pacheco in Uruguay cannot be so easily laid to rest as his mortal remains.

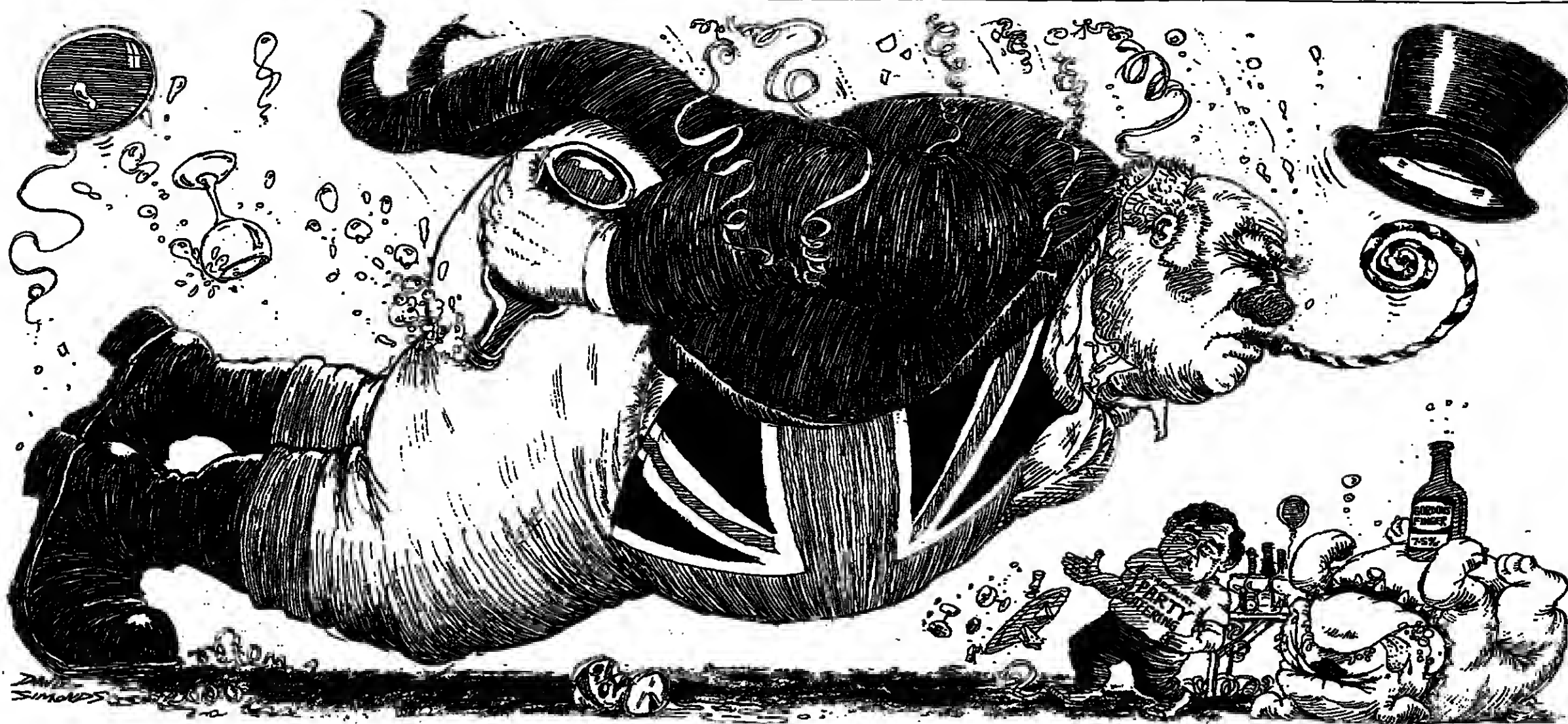
Phil Gunson

Jorge Pacheco Areco, politician, ambassador, journalist, teacher, boxer and gymnast, born April 9, 1920; died July 29, 1998

In Memoriam

ROBERTS, Dennis, died 2.6.98. Missed more than I had thought possible. Harriet.

Who place your announcement telephone 0171 712 4507 or on 0711 712 4707 between 9am and 5pm Mon-Fri



Headed for a hangover, come what may



Mark Atkinson

SO THE party is finally over. Now it's dawned on us that it's time to go home and get some sleep, how will we feel in the morning? Will we struggle on the inevitable hangover with the help of a glass of water and a painkiller or two? Or will we all be bedridden for days, wishing we were dead as we did at the end of the Lawson boom? The omens are not entirely encouraging.

After six years of falling unemployment and rising prosperity — which in retrospect will no doubt become known as the Clarke boom — the British economy is heading for a sharp cyclical slowdown. The only doubt that remains is about how sharp it will be.

Last week's quarterly Co-

operation of British Industry survey, which came in the wake of official figures for the second quarter of 1998 showing the non-oil economy expanding at its lowest quarterly rate for two years, suggested that it could be very sharp indeed.

The CBI report showed business confidence plunging to a seven-and-a-half year low on the back of export orders in free-fall and a weakening domestic demand. Dwindling order books were prompting firms to sack staff and cut on investment spending.

In a note published on the same day as the survey, Michael Saunders, UK economist at Salomon Smith Barney, the American investment bank, pointed out that the confidence index — which is historically one of the best short-term indicators of overall gross domestic product growth — had only been as low as it is now three times in the last 25 years.

Each time, it heralded the onset of recession. Saunders is not the only City economist to fear the worst. David Walton, of Goldman Sachs, says the CBI survey was a lot weaker than he had been expecting. "The rate of decline shown in all busi-

ness surveys in the last three months has been quite alarming, and the risks of recession have risen substantially. Last month, we lowered our 1998 GDP forecast to 1.3 per cent, but already this is looking on the high side," he said.

Stephen Lewis, of London Bond Broking, says a recession is "now very likely and would be hard to avoid".

Optimists take some comfort from the fact that the overall economy is in much better shape than it was at the end of the Lawson boom. This hinge has been nowhere near as reckless, with companies and individual households showing more restraint — while a fair amount of beer and wine have been consumed, the hard stuff has stayed locked safely in the drinks cupboard.

Company indebtedness, for example, was 20 per cent of total market value in 1990, according to the National Institute of Economic and Social Research. Today, it is less than 7 per cent.

Consumers have been similarly abstemious, on the whole refraining from borrowing against the value of their houses in the mistaken belief that prices can only ever increase.

In terms of the overall economy, the difference in magnitude between the two upswings can best be illustrated by comparing how far the economy has grown above its productive potential — in other words, how big the positive output gap were.

The Treasury estimates that in the Lawson boom the positive output gap reached a whopping 5 per cent of GDP. This time, it's probably no more than 1.5 per cent, and could be as low as 0.5 per cent.

Another major difference is that macroeconomic policy is not constrained by the pound's alignment with the exchange rate mechanism, when the interest rates were determined not by domestic economic considerations but by sterling's parity with the German mark.

If it seems the economy is heading for deep recession rather than a slow-down, the Bank of England's monetary policy committee will be able to cut interest rates aggressively without worrying about sterling — safe in the knowledge that the disinflationary consequences of the downturn will be much stronger than the inflationary consequences of a

weaker pound, which is the inevitable result of a loosening of monetary policy.

For these reasons the "soft landing" scenario, in which growth eases but does not go into reverse, does indeed seem the most likely for the economy over the next year.

But it isn't by any means the only one, and the real outcome is uncertain.

The MPC has its monthly meeting next week. Spooked by the inflationary implications of the Chancellor's unexpectedly generous spending plans and the minimum wage — both of which it will be examining for the first time — along with continued earnings growth, the committee might opt to increase the cost of borrowing again.

If it does pull the trigger once more, the chances of a "hard landing" will increase. The effect on already falling confidence could be much greater than a quarter-point increase might usually imply.

Another threat to a soft landing lies in the still uncertain international outlook.

The impact of the Asian crisis has been consistently underestimated. Since it began, just over a year ago, growth forecasts for the region have been revised sev-

eral times. At the end of last year, positive growth was generally expected for most of the affected countries. Now, all of them are either in, or heading for, recession, including those countries predicted to escape unscathed.

Things could easily get worse. The immediate threat of a Chinese devaluation — which would spark off another round of competitive devaluations — has been temporarily averted by combined US and Japanese intervention to prop up the yen on the foreign exchanges.

UT the leadership of China could be under a serious threat if its strategy of moving workers from loss-making state enterprises to export-dependent privately run industry ultimately proves unsuccessful.

The danger of a downward adjustment to its currency therefore remains.

Japan's economic crisis, in addition, shows few signs of being quickly resolved and Russia's — still pressing despite a \$22 billion (\$13.4 billion) IMF bail-out — could lead to a hard landing. The UK's biggest trading region, through financial ex-

posure to the German banking system. The MPC may be able to mitigate the worst effects of a sharp domestic downturn with an easier monetary stance but would be impotent in the face of a global recession.

Then there is the pound, already looking fragile as a result of the darkening outlook — losing, for instance, five pence against the mark last week.

A rate-rise this week would probably keep it up at around 2.90 marks in the short term. But by the time Parliament and the City return from their summer holidays sentiment may have changed, especially if German and French rates begin to rise, nibbling away at the favourable rate differential which has helped keep sterling so high.

A gradual decline in the value of sterling is just what the beleaguered manufacturing sector needs. But a sudden drop, before the economic slowdown has taken hold, runs the risk of catalysing inflationary pressure.

The MPC would almost certainly have to raise rates as a result. Again, this could lead to a hard landing. Even if none of these

threats to the hoped-for soft landing materialise, it will not be without casualties.

Goldman Sachs calculates that unemployment would have to rise by at least 500,000 to close the positive output gap which began appearing at the end of 1996. However, Geoffrey Dicks of Greenwich Natwest believes that falling wages could take some of the strain — a distinct possibility, given the widespread use of bonuses linked to profits — and thus there could be a much smaller increase in the number of jobsless.

Nevertheless, after five years of falling unemployment, any significant increase will come as a political shock, posing a threat to the success of the Government's New Deal and leading to increasingly strident calls for the MPC to be stripped of its power to set interest rates.

No doubt Gordon Brown will be contemplating such dangers this week, when he arrives in Cape Cod for his summer break.

His predecessor might have issued the party invitations, but Brown has since taken over as the boss, and he is responsible for clearing it all up afterwards.

Competing interests may bedevil EMU rate-setting

Economics made easy

How will they go about their job?

It looks as if they will use a combination of the methods of the German central bank, the Bundesbank, and the Bank of England. The German central bank has a target for the growth of the money supply and steps in to squeeze the economy when growth exceeds its limits. But monetary growth is going to be unstable and hard to measure as EMU gets off the ground. So the ECB will probably back up its monetary targets with a direct target for inflation, like the Bank of England. For both measures, its biggest problem is a lack of reliable data at a European level.

Will the ECB run a tough interest rate policy?

The new institution has been modelled on the Bundesbank, which has an exemplary record in fighting inflation. As with the Bundesbank, the ECB's primary goal is to maintain price stability.

Who runs the ECB?

The man in charge is Wim Duisenberg, the current head of the European Monetary Institute and a former Dutch central banker. He presides over the governing council, which is made up of the

11 heads of central banks plus six executive board members. They will meet each month to decide the cost of borrowing. Each member has a single vote and, in the event of a tie, the president has the casting vote.

How will interest rates be set in the countries that have decided to join EMU?

Although the euro notes and coins are not scheduled to come into circulation until 2002, once the 11 founder members fix their exchange rates at the start of next year they will hand over the setting of interest rates to the new European Central Bank.

What happens then?

The ECB will find it faces demands for a more accommodative monetary policy. Some countries may seek to run lax fiscal policy to counter high interest rates, although they will have to abide by the rules of the stability pact. They have all agreed to keep their budget deficits at the EMU qualifying level of 3 per cent. But, when it comes to a conflict between domestic policy interests and meeting the EMU's fiscal rules, it will be tough choice for Europe's politicians.

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Indicators

TODAY — UK: Purchasing managers report (Jul). UK: Provisional M0 (Jul).

WEDNESDAY — UK: Monetary Policy Committee meeting. UK: Industrial production (Jun). UK: Manufacturing production (Jun).

UK: PM report on services (Jul).

UK: Beige Book. UK: CBI Distributive trades survey (Jul).

UK: Unemployment rate (Jul).

FRIDAY — US: Unemployment rate (Jul).

Source: HSBC Markets Limited.

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Lie back, think of South Korea

Debate

Gerald Holtham

PASSIVITY and fatalism used to be regarded as oriental characteristics by Rudyard Kipling and his like. These characteristics were often attributed, no doubt falsely, to the influence of oriental religion compared with the capitalist-oriented Protestantism celebrated by Max Weber.

How odd, then, that it is the British who now evince an extraordinary degree of passivity in the face of fluctuating inward investment from East Asia. Just consider attitudes to South Korean investment in manufacturing here.

When the Koreans first proposed large investments in Scotland, South Wales or the North-east, they were assiduously courted by regional development agencies, local authorities and government itself. The announcement of each investment was greeted rapturously, with press

reports about the number of jobs created and the prosperity that would be brought to depressed areas. True, there was also a little knocking copy about the scale of subsidies, and some killjoys worked out that the amount of subsidy per job created was really rather large. Nonetheless, nobody argued that the Koreans did not know what they were doing.

The general British reaction, and the grants or complementary public investment that were prepared to make, showed we thought that these were sound projects. If anyone did think it strange that we should be so grateful about investment from countries with lower levels of income, we heard that the UK and Ireland, similar, if not lower, level of technology, they took care not to say so.

In these days of open capital markets and indifference to the nationality of ownership, any such thought would be unworthy.

Given all that, what would you expect the reaction to be when financial pressures led

to such investments being postponed or cancelled? Surely the following: if the investments were good last year, they are just as good this. The European single market still exists, so what has changed? The pound is up and the won is down, but

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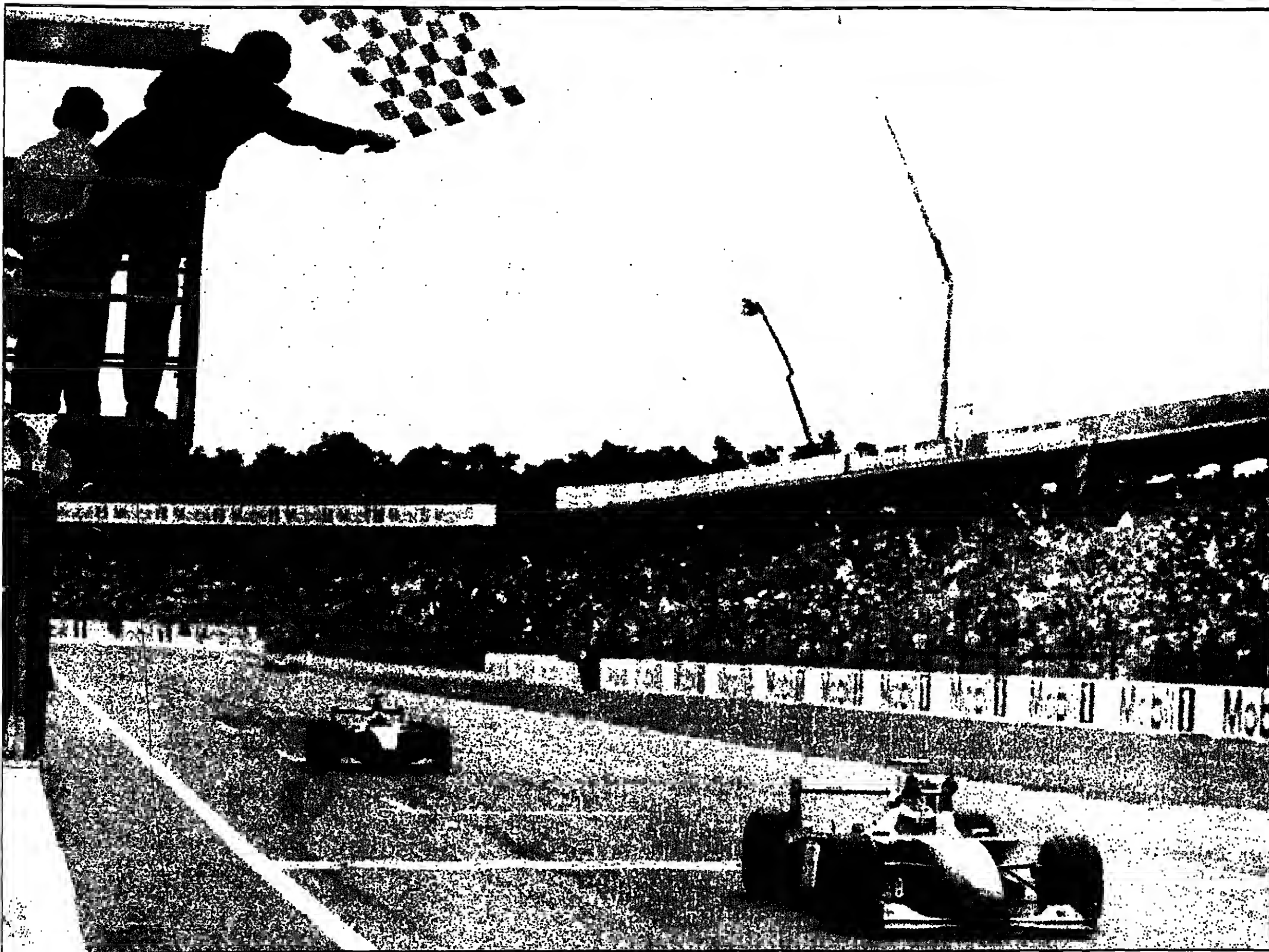
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Monday August 3 1998 www.football.guardian.co.uk

The German Grand Prix



Finn at the end... Mika Hakkinen crosses the line ahead of his team-mate David Coulthard with the world champion Jacques Villeneuve coming in third in the Williams

PHOTOGRAPH: OLIVER MUTHAUP

Hakkinen turns up heat on Ferrari

Full results from Hockenheim Round 11

| | | | | |
|--|----------|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| | 1 | Mika Hakkinen (Finland) | Time 1:20.47.984 | Average speed: 142.458mph |
| | 2 | David Coulthard (Britain) | 0.427sec behind | |
| | 3 | Jacques Villeneuve (Canada) | +2.578 | |
| | 4 | Damon Hill (Britain) | +7.185 | |
| | 5 | Michael Schumacher (Germany) | +12.813 | |
| | 6 | Ralf Schumacher (Germany) | +29.739 | |

| Other finishers | | Drivers' championship | |
|-------------------------------|--|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 7 | Giancarlo Fisichella (Ita) Benetton +31.657 | 1 | Hakkinen 36 points |
| 8 | Rikkyo Irvine (GB) Ford +32.257 | 2 | Schumacher 28 |
| 9 | Pedro Pablo Kuczajski (Arg) Williams +32.785 | 3 | Coulthard 22 |
| 10 | Juan Pablo Montoya (Col) Williams +33.472 | 4 | Hill 16 |
| 11 | Alexander Wurz (Aut) Benetton +37.895 | 5 | Villeneuve 15 |
| 12 | Jarno Trulli (Ita) Prost 1 lap | 6 | Fisichella 15 |
| 13 | Toni Vilander (Fin) Tyrrell 1 lap | 7 | Trulli 15 |
| 14 | Mika Salo (Fin) Arrows 1 lap | 8 | Schumacher 14 |
| 15 | Olivier Panis (Fr) Prost 1 lap | 9 | Salvo 13 |
| 16 | Esteban Tuero (Arg) Minardi 2 laps | 10 | Hartmann 12 |
| Did not finish/not classified | | Constructors' championship | |
| 17 | Johnny Herbert (GB) Sauber 37 laps complete | 1 | McLaren 138 points |
| 18 | Shinji Nakano (Jpn) Minardi 36 | 2 | Jordan 7 |
| 19 | Rubens Barrichello (Brz) Stewart 27 | 3 | Stewart 5 |
| 20 | Jos Verstappen (Hol) Stewart 24 | 4 | Sauber 4 |
| 21 | Pedro Diniz (Brz) Arrows 2 | | |

Schumacher trails in behind McLaren one-two, reports Alan Henry in Hockenheim

MIKA Hakkinen and David Coulthard left Ferrari trailing for a second successive weekend when they delivered another display of McLaren-Mercedes superiority in Germany yesterday. Hakkinen's second win in seven days also celebrated the announcement that the two drivers would be staying with McLaren until the end of 1999. "We are happy with what they have done for us and believe they are both capable of being world champion," Mercedes director at the race, Jürgen Hubbert, said. This was McLaren's sixth one-two in 12 races including the last of 1997 and saw Hakkinen go 16 points clear of Michael Schumacher at the head of the drivers' standings. The German's Ferrari could finish no better than fifth after problems with the handling balance at speed. Third place went to Jacques Villeneuve's Williams ahead of Damon Hill, who scored the first points of his season in the Jordan-Mugen Honda. "I got into a good groove and kept pushing the entire distance," said Hill. It was the first time a Mercedes-engine Formula One car had won on German soil since the legendary Juan-Manuel Fangio won at the Nürburgring in 1954 and it repre-

sented another giant stride towards Hakkinen becoming only the second Finnish world champion since his manager Keke Rosberg won the title in a Williams 16 years ago. Coulthard ran steadily in the wheeltracks of the other McLaren to repeat the one-two of last week's Austrian Grand Prix. Both McLaren drivers were worried about the challenge posed by Villeneuve in the closing stages of the race. Hakkinen had eased his pace when his engine refused to pull as strongly as it should have done, causing Coulthard to ease back slightly. Although the leading McLaren trailed an ominous haze of liquid which laid an opaque film across Coulthard's visor, the loss in performance was caused by Hakkinen leaning off the fuel mixture to make it less rich under instructions from his engineers. "At one point we were slightly worried that Mika's car had not taken on its full fuel allocation at the pit stop," said the McLaren managing director Ron Dennis. "Even though we then checked our figures and convinced ourselves that this was not in fact the case, we played safe by adjusting the mixture to run as economically as possible." Because of this, Villeneuve

tripped Hakkinen's advance from 5.1 seconds on lap 33 to 2.1 seconds on lap 36, only for the McLarens to pick up the pace again. Coulthard drove defensively as they lapped slower traffic, protecting Hakkinen by dropping back to ensure there was a back marker between himself and Villeneuve. "Once you get to within a second or so of another car, you are into too much turbulence," said Coulthard, "so I thought there was too much at stake to try passing Mika. But I was seriously worried about Jacques because I know he is a committed racing driver and, if he sees half a gap, he will go for it. It was very uncomfortable." Towards the end Villeneuve's challenge was blunted when he dropped away with an apparent transmission problem. "I suddenly picked up a lot of wheelspin on the inside rear wheel," he reported. "The revs were rising but the car was going no faster. It could have been something to do with the clutch or the differential." This was the world champion's best performance of the season and his first visit to the rostrum since clinching his title with third place in last year's final European Grand Prix at Jerez. The Schumacher brothers completed the top six behind Hill. Michael's Ferrari heading Ralf's Jordan past the chequered flag.

Jacques the last, page 18





Forza Italia... Marco Pantani safely negotiates a curve near the Arc de Triomphe on yesterday's run to the Tour's finishing line

PHOTOGRAPH BY PATRICK KOWAR

The Pirate climbs to greatness

William Fotheringham in Paris applauds the Tour de France triumph of Pantani as undervalued by diversions and defections

ALMOST invariably now the last day of the Tour entails a high-speed train trip to within pedalling distance of Paris and a genteel Sunday stroll before the final thrash up and down the Champs-Élysées. An end-of-term feeling pervades the peloton, who know that wives and families await in a five-star hotel on the Périphérique ring road.

A bottle of champagne was passed from rider to rider during yesterday afternoon's stage from Melun. To underline their work was over, the team-mates of Marco Pantani, who yesterday became the first Italian to win the Tour for 35 years, all bleached their hair blond. It could have been worse: when Pantani won the Giro d'Italia in June, they shaved their heads.

But the final stage was not without its nervous moments. Heavy showers left a greasy

sheen on the cobbles of the Champs, and the peloton negotiated the dead turn at the Arc de Triomphe with the utmost caution. Both Pantani and the Frenchman who finished fourth overall, Christophe Rinero, captured but made their way back to the bunch.

Fortunately the cobbles dried for the final heart-stopping rush to the line, which went to the Belgian champion Tom Steels. He was expelled last year for throwing a bottle at a rival and has returned to take four stage victories, more than any sprinter since 1988.

Paris has been on the minds of most riders since the Tour came close to ending on Wednesday: the relief as the chequered flag approached yesterday must have been more acute than usual. This has been the Tour of the two Ps: Pantani and the police, whose investigations into banned drugs have led to

strikes, arrests, searches and stand-offs.

Pantani did not feel his victory had been devalued by the scandals. "It was very special psychologically and nervously," he said. "No sport can be compared with this as we lived three weeks of intense competition with, on top of it, doping problems and police threats. The fear of police has without any doubt made this Tour cleaner."

The Italian's has been an epic victory, taken in a style which the Italians call *all'italiana* — in the old way. The lone raid of 'The Pirate' across the Alps a week ago to take the yellow jersey as the 1997 winner Jao Ullrich struggled in the rain was worthy of any of the Tour's great climbers, such as Lucien van Impe, the last mountain man to win the Tour, back in 1976. Pantani forged his Tour win on an eggshell-blue Blan-

chi bike, the same make ridden by the only other Italian to win both the Giro d'Italia and Tour in the same year: Fausto Coppi, who did the double in 1952. The resonance will not be lost on the Italians, who have sought for two generations for a cycling hero capable of emulating the championissimo.

When Pantani started the Giro, Ullrich was engaged in a desperate last-ditch attempt to find form after a winter of excess and a spring of illness.

It is impossible to say for certain in the Tour whether the German's collapse in the opening Alpine stage was related to his poor build-up but it seems likely. In any case he lost so much time that Pantani had no need to worry about the final time-trial stage on Saturday in eastern France, even though this is not his specialty.

The German's time-trial victory was inevitable and took his tally of Tour stage wins to three but, in overall terms, he did little more than peg Pantani back to a reasonable margin, taking 3m10.36sec off the Italian, while swapping third place for second at the expense of the American Bobby Julich.

Last year Ullrich showed the ability to annihilate the climbers against the watch — the hallmark of Miguel Indurain — but in this Tour he never gained enough time to destroy Pantani's hopes. He finished 3min 21sec behind the winner.

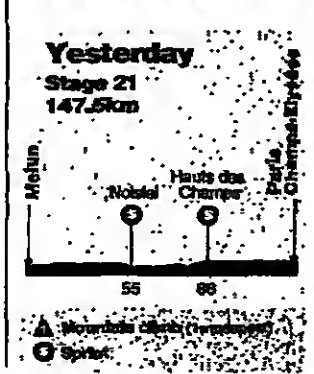
However, the final week of this Tour may well mean

more to Ullrich in the long term than his second place overall suggests. Still only 24, the man from Rostock has now finished second, first and second in three Tours. His spectacular attempt to dislodge Pantani over the climb of the Madeleine the day after he had effectively lost the race suggests that under his dark exterior lurks a wealth of character.

Ullrich seems to have grown up during this Tour; he graciously admitted on Saturday that he had made a mistake by failing to stay on the straight and narrow last winter, when he took on the proportions of a barrage balloon rather than a cyclist.

"I won't make the same mistake again," he said. "It's a lesson that I have to learn, right now." The prospect of Ullrich building properly for next year's Tour and taking on Pantani — large, four German all-rounder against tiny, ebullient Italian climber — is truly mouthwatering.

William Fotheringham is assistant editor of Cycling Weekly.



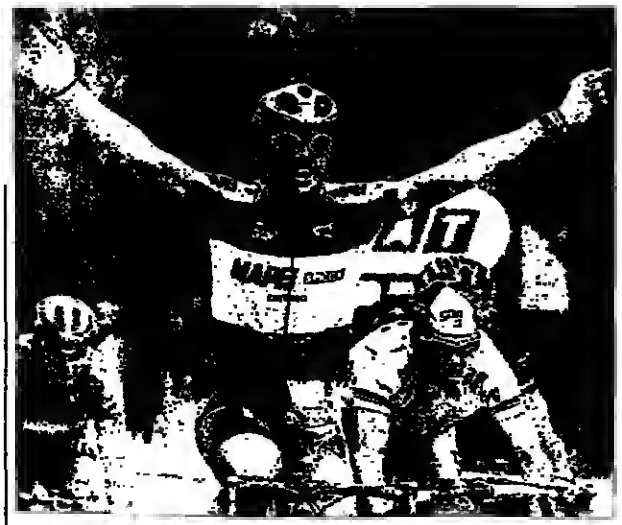
Fall-out goes on beyond the finish with talk of cleanliness clauses

Teams and sponsors will recast their deals, believes William Fotheringham

THE Tour is over but the drug investigations which have overshadowed this year's race are set to continue for the next few weeks at least. Today the six riders from the Dutch TVM team, who quit the Tour last week, are expected in Reims for questioning over the discovery of erythropoietin (EPO) in their team lobby; their doctor and manager have already been charged over the affair.

The ramifications of the seizure of EPO and steroids in a Festina team car, which sparked off the series of revelations which have rocked this Tour, have already extended to four other teams — Once, Casino, BigMat and Française des Jeux — and will go further.

Riders from Once, whose team doctor has been charged over drugs, are expected for questioning by the investigating team in Lille, as are those from Casino. One of their number, the Italian Rodolfo Massi, was charged on Friday with trafficking although he has claimed that the corticosteroids found in his hotel room by police were necessary to treat his asthma. The former world champion Luc



Easy rider... Steels wins the final stage LAURENT REBOURS

Leblanc, who rode with Festina in 1991, is also likely to be questioned.

The revelations seem to have done nothing to dent the Tour's popularity with the French public. Indeed the opposite seems to be the case if the messages of support along the route in the last few days are anything to go by. The Parisian papers may have called for the race to be abandoned but the average French citizen appears to feel that doping is a necessary component of the national summer.

Festina have announced that their team sponsorship will continue at least until the

end of the season; after that the team's future is unclear. However, the long-term effect on the willingness of sponsors to enter the sport will be seen only when contracts expire and new backers need to be found; in some cases this is several years distant.

What seems likely is that companies backing teams will introduce "cleanliness clauses" under which their contracts with the company running the team is reworded null and void if a rider tests positive. The Dutch team Rabobank is run in this way, while Credit Agricole, who took over backing Chris

Boardman's Gan team as of today, have a get-out clause "if the team were to diverge from irreproachable sporting ethics and conduct".

There are also suggestions that all companies who invest in cycling should donate 1 per cent of their investment to a fund to finance research into tests for drugs that are currently undetectable such as erythropoietin.

The peloton was smaller than usual at the end of this year's race and it may be that way next year. Bearing this year's experiences in mind the Tour organisers are set to vet teams for "morality" before permitting them entry to the race. Teams with riders who have tested positive will be barred, as will any who have been raided by police.

There are also fears that the Tour will see fewer entries from the Spanish, who quit en masse on Wednesday. The boycott was apparently organised by the manager of Laurent Jalabert's Once, who said, "I have stuck my finger up the Tour's arse." The race organisers are not reported to be impressed.

The response of the International Cycling Union, the governing body, is less clear. Several top cyclists have called for the resignation of its president, the Dutchman Hein Verbruggen, who has been conspicuous by his absence as the doping scandals have ground on. His return from holiday in India is eagerly awaited.

Day by day in the doping drama

July 8 Festina team masseur Willy Voet stopped at France-Belgium border. Car contains more than 400 doping products, including blood booster erythropoietin.

July 10 A court in the northern city of Lille puts Voet under formal investigation — one step short of being charged in French law.

July 11 Tour begins in Dublin.

July 14 Voet changes story and admits doping products were for team use, not his own.

July 15 Festina team chief Bruno Roussel and team doctor Erik Ryckbaert detained and questioned by police.

July 16 Roussel suspended by the International Cycling Union, the world governing body.

July 17 Roussel admits systematically supplying illegal drugs to team under strict medical control; he and Ryckbaert also placed under formal investigation and detained. Tour expels Festina team. Team leader Richard Virenque leaves Tour in tears.

July 21 Ryckbaert's lawyer says there was a system of funding illegal drugs through team members' winnings.

July 22 — Under questioning five Festina riders admit taking drugs. Dutch TVM team also comes under spotlight, hotel raided by police — five TVM riders taken away for questioning. TVM team director Coes Priem and doctor Andrei Mikhailov also detained and questioned.

July 24 — Roussel, Ryckbaert and Voet meet in a Lille court. At the start of the 12th stage, remaining riders protest, delaying start for two hours.

July 25 — Police search hotel rooms of team members. TVM riders taken to hospital and given lengthy medical tests — including the taking of blood, urine and hair samples.

July 26 — Remaining Tour riders stop the stage to Aix-les-Bains twice to protest treatment of TVM and the police raids on their hotels — riders dismount and tear off official numbers. Stage eventually continues, but slowly. Four teams drop out of race. Tour decides to annul stage. Tour takes 38 hours to cover 59km. Casino rider, Rodolfo Massi, is detained by police for questioning along with Once team doctor Nicolas Tenaillon.

July 30 — Two more teams drop out, along with some individuals, including former world champion Luc Leblanc. Massi, leading in the Tour's King of the Mountains standings, does not start 18th stage — the first time a rider is barred from competing due to police questioning.

July 31 — Massi and Tenaillon placed under formal investigation. Remaining riders of TVM team drop out. 14 teams left from original 21, less than 100 riders from original 189.

August 1 — Pantani holds his own in the final 52km time-trial. Leblanc's front page echoes disillusionment expressed by commentators: "The Tour de France: a broken legend". The daily continued: "Undiminished by drugs, destabilised by police inquiries, discredited by the obstinacy of its managers, the Tour staggered along." The Tour director Jean-Marie Leblanc speaks out to La Figaro: "The Tour does not want to be betrayed any more. This year we travelled our own road to Damascus."

August 2 — Tour ends in Paris.

Motor Racing

Williams silence the prophets of doom

James Mitchell in Hockenheim hears a message from the world champions

IN THE Williams motorhome someone congratulated the team's technical director Patrick Head on Jacques Villeneuve's first podium position of the year. "It's hardly justified for third place," replied Head, "but I suppose it is a little bit better."

They are tough to please at Williams and, given the team's lofty position in Formula One during the decade, it is true that third place is not much to get excited about.

But this is not a typical Williams season. Until Villeneuve's strong performance here in the German Grand Prix yesterday it had been a long time since a team which has won four drivers' and five constructors' championships in the past six years had looked genuinely competitive. The reigning champions, Williams had managed to finish in the top three only once before yesterday and the prophets of doom in the paddock have begun to write them off.

The theory goes thus: Williams are finished for years to come. They have lost their brilliant chief designer Adrian Newey to McLaren. Next year will be a restructuring year waiting for the engine deal with BMW to start in 2000. The BMW engine itself will take years to become competitive.

Head, who recently became a father at 52, is losing interest. In short, the team is on a barely concealed downward spiral.

That is what they say anyway. But yesterday Head did not sound or respond like a man who had lost interest. While most outsiders felt that Villeneuve being involved in a true fight for the lead was a genuine cause for celebration, Head remained the perfectionist realist. He talked about how conservatively McLaren had played the race and how Williams looked so good only because Ferrari had had such a poor weekend.

"Things are getting better," he allowed, "but there is no satisfaction in producing a car that is so far away from the pace at the beginning of the season. I hope

that next year we don't put ourselves through the mill so much."

Disappointing year or not, Williams have been the centre of attention in Hockenheim this weekend. As F1's traditional mid-summer "silly season" hits full swing, they are the only top team not to have a settled next year's driver line-up.

Villeneuve is leaving to join the new British American Racing team and will almost certainly be replaced by the Italian Alex Zanardi, currently the leading light in the American Champ Car series. But the second seat is open and Williams appears to be talking to most of the available drivers in the pit lane.

In addition the engine supply is said to be in doubt because of a row over terms with Mecachrome, which supplies the Renault-built engines.

"Pure speculation," says Head. But it is this kind of uncertainty that fuels talk about decline and led Villeneuve to decide he had little to lose by walking away. More experienced members of the F1 fraternity are wary about writing off a team with the determined, winning spirit that shone from Head after the race, and Villeneuve during it.

Williams has been chipping away at its troubles since all seasons and there have been signs in the last few races that they are back on the right track. Villeneuve threw away a potential win in Canada in June and he was third on the grid at Silverstone last month before rain in the race ruined his chances.

"Credit to Williams," said Ron Dennis, whose McLaren are well on the way to taking Williams's title. "The performance they have found here isn't going to go away. They'll be strong until the end of the season."

Villeneuve agrees: "It's a great feeling to be back on the podium. The whole weekend started well and, when that happens, you feel up and it gives you new energy. The good thing today is we weren't far behind the McLarens. I'm looking forward to some good racing for the rest of the year."

Tennis

Henman gets a final feeling

Stephen Bierley

TIM HENMAN, recapturing some of the form that took him to the semi-finals at Wimbledon last month, reached his second ATP Tour final of the year with a straight-sets victory over the Frenchman Guillaume Raoux at the Mercedes-Benz Cup in Los Angeles.

The victory edged Henman closer to the world's top 10 and increased his chances of playing in the ATP Tour Championship in Hanover this November.

Henman, seeded No. 2, defeated Raoux 7-5, 6-3 after Andre Agassi had sealed his place in the final with a 6-0, 7-6 victory over his compatriot Justin Gimelstoh.

"Andre is somebody I watched a lot when I was coming up through the ranks. I don't think there's a more exciting opponent," said Henman.

The British No. 2, who had defeated Grant Stafford of South Africa, Jeff Tarango of the US and Zimbabwe's Byron Black, produced his most effective serve-and-volley tennis against Raoux, including eight aces.

"This was my best match this week," said Henman. He began shakily, falling behind

3-1 after dropping serve in the third game, but recovered to put the set back on serve two games later.

After taking a 6-5 lead, Henman clinched the opening set when Raoux hit a forehand long. In the second Henman rode a lone service break in the fourth game to victory, completed with a pair of service winners clocked in excess of 130mph.

Henman's previous final this year was just before the Australian Open, when he lost to Slovakia's Karol Kucera in Sydney. Although grass is his most effective surface, Henman demonstrated his liking for hard courts by reaching the semi-finals of this year's Lipton Championships in Florida.

Agassi's first set, in which he allowed Gimelstoh a mere 11 points and did not lose a game, was a prime example of his return to form after a miserable 1997 when he dropped out of the world's top 100 although he has yet to reproduce this at Grand Slam level.

Gimelstoh, who defeated the top seed Patrick Rafter of Australia in the quarter-finals, gave Agassi's more competitive second set, taking it to a tie-break. But the fifth seed never looked in danger of going to a third set as he dominated the tie-break 7-2.

Seles left gasping at Venus aces

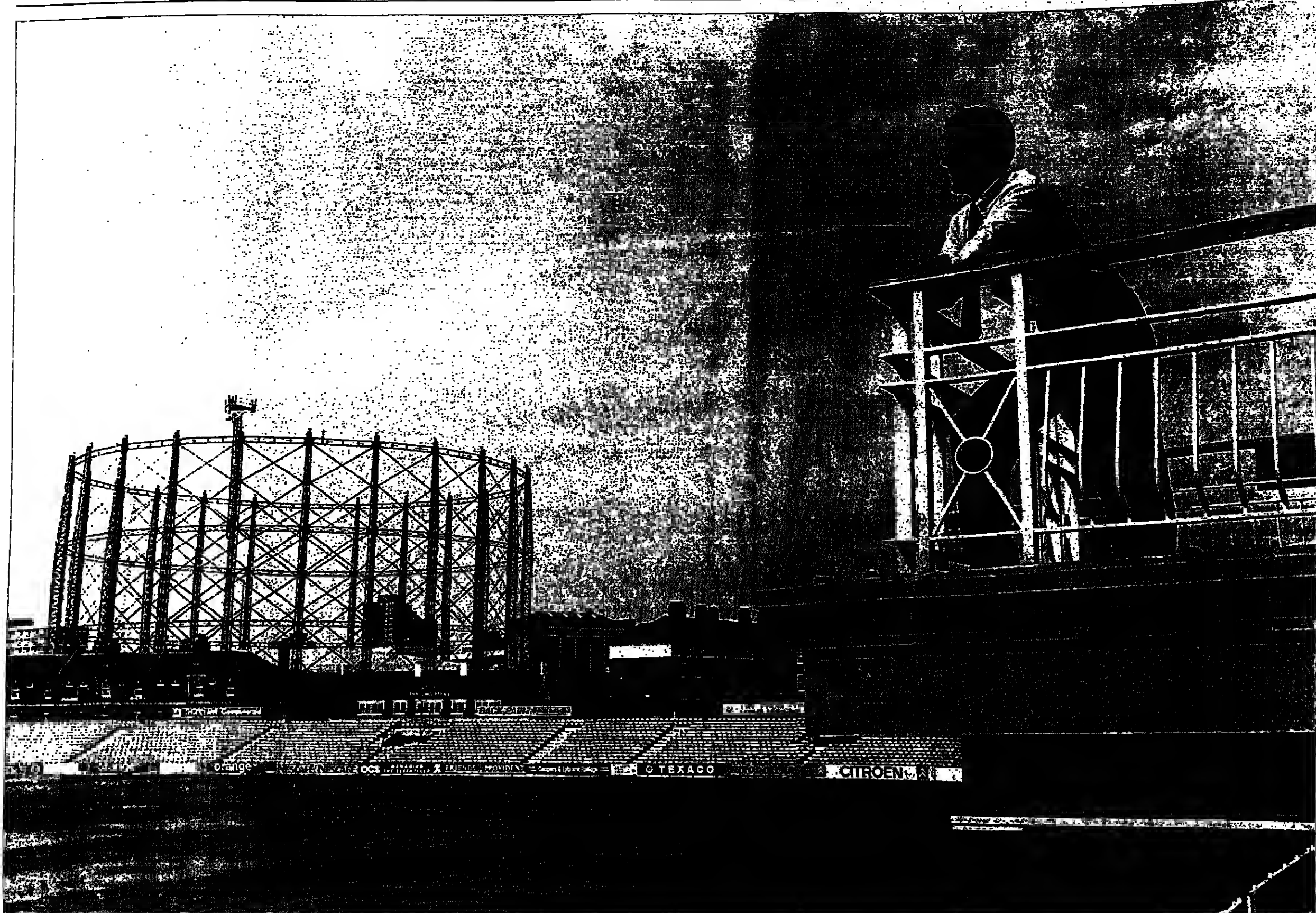
Venus Williams overwhelmed Monica Seles with a 70-minute show of athleticism and tenacity that disposed of the former world No. 1 6-4, 6-4, to move into the final of the Bank of the West Classic in California.

Williams belted 12 aces and numerous service winners to the corners, ripping the slice serves into the deuce

court that Seles could barely wave at, let alone get a racket on.

"Venus hits serves at 120, 125 mph; even males would have a hard time returning those," Seles said.

The top seed Lindsay Davenport was also in inspired form in the other semi-final, beating the fourth seed Steffi Graf 6-1, 6-7, 6-3.



On the eve of Thursday's deciding Test, **Paul Weaver** takes his rationed slot in the neat world of England's captain, keeper and front-line batsman and finds more than meets the eye

Stewart the three in one

A PAIR of 3-D spectacles is needed these days for a true perspective of Alec James Stewart, captain of England, who this week might lead his side to their first victory in a major series for almost 12 years. If he does and then captains a successful Ashes campaign, with a World Cup win as an encore, it is easy to imagine Hamleys selling him as a toy — the butane, wicketkeeping, strutting, barking, all-singing, dancing Gaffer — and it would take a second glance to differentiate it from the original.

There is more to the pop-up Stewart than meets the eye. He has a quick and sometimes biting wit, he is the perpetrator of some outrageous dressing-room practical jokes and that gleam in those pale, clear eyes is pure mischief, betraying a man who knows how to relax and let his hair down —

if only it were not cropped short in the style of a marine. Yet the public persona — the jaunty confidence, the matter-of-fact interviews and chest-out competitiveness — is no lie. It comes from within and is hugely impressive. If Stewart did not exist, the image-conscious England and Wales Cricket Board would feel a need to invent him.

The cricketer known as Mr Squeaky is the most approachable of the recent England captains. He is courteous and co-operative, perfectly dressed on and off the pitch and organised to the point of meticulousness. He has an easy manner with the media and comes complete with a no-scandal warranty. He is a terrific cricketer too.

His first sporting hero, after watching the 1966 World Cup on his mother's knee as a three-year-old, was Geoff Hurst. But, with his extreme neatness, his carefully folded

shirts, his numbered batting gloves, his face creams and vitamin tablets, he more closely resembles the fastidious Bobby Moore, whom he met twice. Stewart is so tidy that, if one opened the glovebox in his car, one would probably find a pair of gloves.

Nothing is packed away so neatly as his private emotions. "Two years ago, when his form faltered, both his wife Lynn and his mother Sheila suffered brain-related illnesses. He never spoke about it."

David Gilbert, then his cricket manager at Surrey, says: "He can be as funny as any man you have met but he also feels a need to maintain this British stiff upper lip. Sometimes that has not been a good thing. The pressure will seem unbearable but he will keep things close to his chest. He might be aching inside but you will never know it."

"In the middle of his family illnesses, when he was county

captain, he was still churning out the performances — Mr Surrey, I'm glad he's talking of expressing himself more because sometimes I don't think he does so enough."

Stewart has not captured the imagination in the same way as the Falstaffian Ian Botham or David Gower, who might have been created by Waugh or Wadehouse. It might all change this week, but essentially, like Graham Gooch whom he so admires, he is a member of the yeomanry.

"If you fail to prepare, you prepare to fail," said Gooch, who like Stewart often conveys the impression he is a football manager travelling incognito. There is more than an echo of Gooch's sentiments when Stewart says: "The thing is, I don't leave anything to chance, nothing. Practise hard and prepare well, that's me. Then, if you fail, you know you have done your best. If you fail and have not pre-

pared, you come out with all sorts of excuses."

He was talking to the players' dining area at The Oval. He is not difficult to get to, although he is too streetwise to be considered a soft touch. At The Oval over the weekend everyone wanted a piece of him before Headingley and everyone received a short, scheduled slot.

"I have changed my mobile number and now all appointments are made through Lord's. So far I can't say the job has been a hassle. Okay, I'll be there in two minutes," he adds, following a knock on the door and another request.

"The extra media commitments have been the biggest difference. But I try to fix appointments on playing days so days off mean exactly that. As for the captaincy, I think it helped that I had played a lot of Test cricket. And I had been vice-captain to Atherton, so I had a pretty good idea what the job would be like."

Stewart will be 36 in April but the good news for Surrey and England is that he has the hunger of the under-achiever. "I've had a good career but in medal terms it has been disappointing. We didn't win anything at Surrey until the past couple of seasons and this is the first time I can remember going into the final Test of a full series with a chance to win."

"I have signed a five-year contract with Surrey that will keep me here until I'm 39 or 40 and it would be nice if my England career ran alongside it. I want to play as long as possible. Look at Goochie, he was playing for England at 41 and had probably his best years between 35 and 39."

GOOCH, however, did not keep wicket. And where he brooded, pondered and ambled Stewart shouts, exhorts and marches. Like Gooch and Michael Atherton before him he captains more by example than by tactical insight but his example is more dynamic, more vital, more pivotal and in-your-face than it was with the other two.

A senior England player said yesterday: "We thought Stewart would be okay but he's

been a bit better than that. It's been a pleasant surprise. With Atherton his body language told you what he was thinking. Stewart tells you direct."

When Stewart was appointed in May Atherton said: "Graham Thorpe has already started a spread index on the number of clichés the captain will utter and how many times he will begin a sentence with 'to be fair' or, for emphasis, 'to be honest'. Don't believe all that nonsense I used to trot out about the need for a balanced side. We didn't want

to see Alec's knees-up, showpony running style and we thought by giving him the gloves we might occasionally see him with grass stains on his whites."

Stewart himself says: "I was captain before, sent at Surrey I think, this time, I'm more open with the players. I'm open about seeking advice and I hope they feel they can come to me at any time and give it. I bounce ideas off people and like them to come to me to suggest things."

"I've played under six or seven captains and I think I've borrowed things from the likes of Atherton, Goochie and Adam Hogg. But one of the very best I played under was Tony Mann, who played for Western Australia and was

immensely perceptive. Alec Stewart at The Oval, top, where he was Surrey captain from 1992-97 and, clockwise from top right, the wicketkeeper, the batsman — bowled by Allan Donald at Lord's in the 1994 series — and the son, with his father Mickey

PHOTOGRAPHS: FRANKFORD, LANCE GRIFFITH, TOM JONES, MICHAEL ALLPORT, HUTTON/GETTY

my skipper when I was in grade cricket for Midland-Guildford in Perth."

Another "Western" Australian, the Worcestershire captain Tom Moody, feels Stewart's experience in Perth was crucial to his development. "Playing there did him the world of good. It strengthened him as a

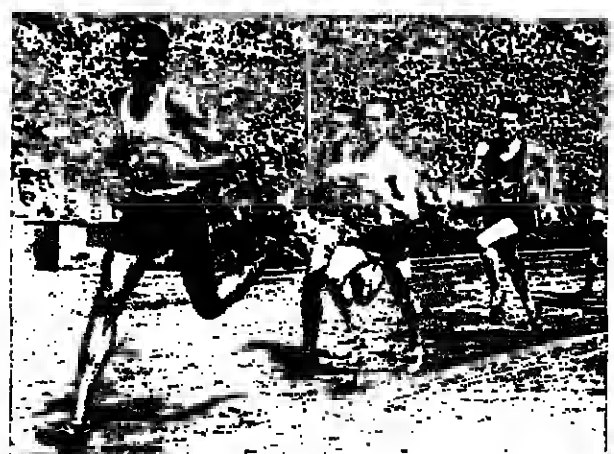
batsman and hardened him up as a cricketer."

Stewart himself says: "The Australians have learned how to win and in tight situations they do it more often than they lose. We still have some progress to make in those 50-50 matches. It is annoying when people say our cricket is not tough enough and yet, when we show some emotion, the same people say we're out of order and we must be whiter than white. You need the killer instinct in professional sport."

He says the 1-1 scoreline in the current series is a fair reflection of the summer. No neutral would agree with that. South Africa have been marginally the better side. Stewart adds: "It would be nice if we could pull it off because we've copped a bit of flak in the past. Losing at Lord's did not help but we came back well to secure a draw at Old Trafford and got better and better as the Trent Bridge Test went on."

Stewart the cricketer is perhaps too 3-D as captain, keeper and key batsman. There is always a whiff of compromise in the two-in-one bargain offer about the wicketkeeper-batsman. But Stewart is the best batsman in the land and possibly the best keeper. He would really prefer to open the batting with Atherton, with someone else taking the gloves. Even batting at four he looks better coming in at the fall of two quick wickets, when the fast men are still on and the hard ball goes more sweetly to the boundary.

As usual, however, the team will come first and no one doubts action man's fitness to continue as he is. There was a delicious moment in Surrey's recent match against Middlesex when he was not keeping wicket but raced past Adam Hogg, eight years his junior, to field the ball. "Look at the pace," he shouted. Hamleys do not stock that.



Way back when
Frank Keating
on a pledge by four Jamaicans at the Olympics in 1948 happily fulfilled in 1952

Front loper... Arthur Wint shows his 10ft stride in the 1948 Olympics at Wembley, where he won the 400m

HALF a century ago the 14th modern Olympic Games were held in London in the first two weeks of August. Such names as Fanny Blankers-Koen, Emil Zatopek and Bob Mathias endure for posterity from events between the 100 metres final on July 31 — the American Harrison Dillard winning when a photo-finish picture was used for the first time — and football's final on August 13 (won by Sweden 2-0) when Yugoslavia's Borislav Stankovic became the first footballer sent off at Wembley. Britain was still recovering from the war. Food and

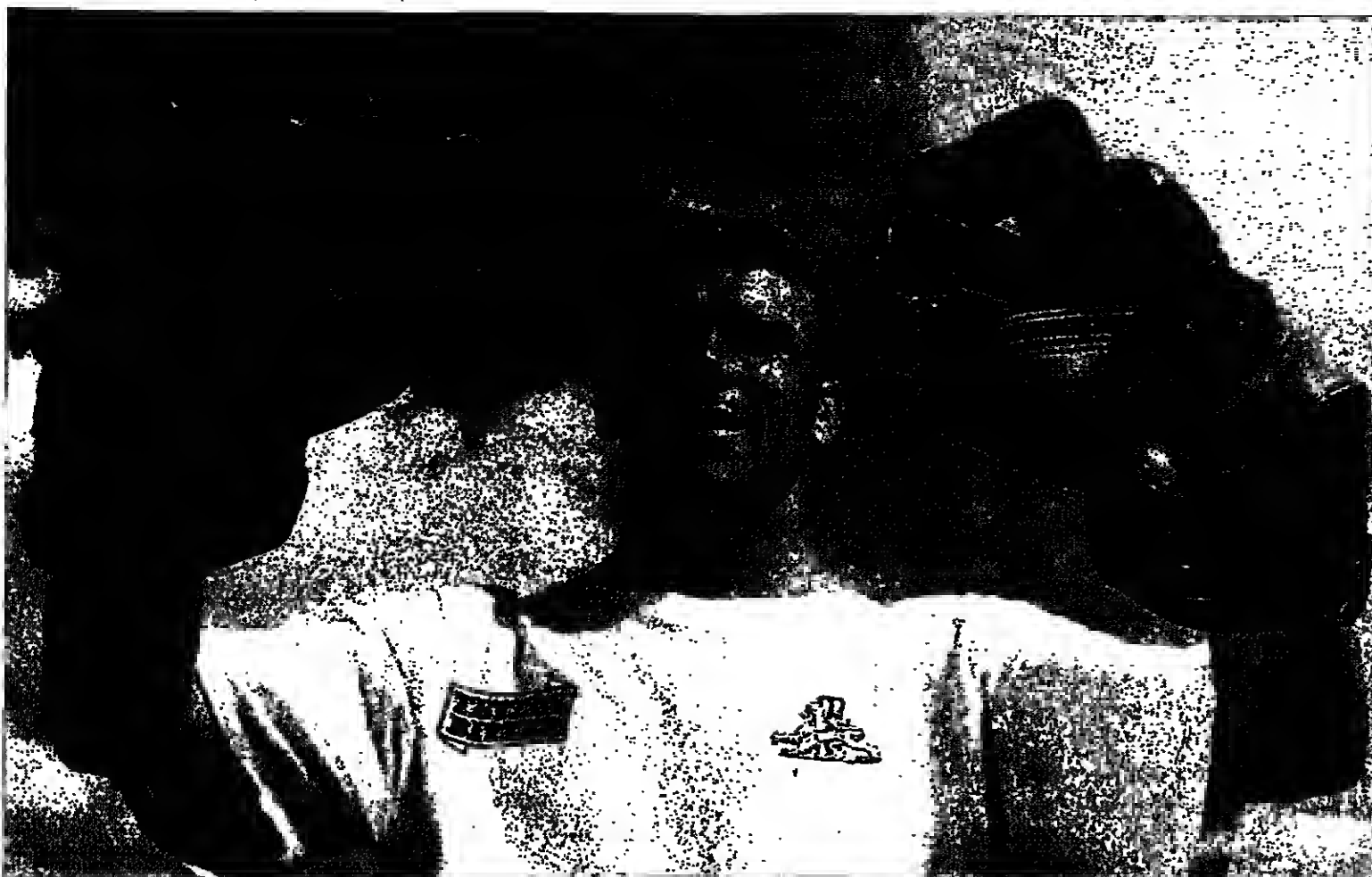
clothes were rationed and London was still speckled with bomb craters. Yet 59 countries (not Germany, Japan or Italy) sent 4,500 competitors. Britain's first Labour government spent £600,000 to stage the Games and the enterprise was rewarded with a surplus of around £15,000. Don Bradman's Australian cricketers were also touring and, although British sport was at a low ebb, the national feeling was of regeneration, hope and good fellowship. "Temporary" buildings, left around Wembley from the Empire Exhibition of a quarter of a century before,

were adapted as quarters for the media and most days Wembley had a sell-out crowd of 80,000. Athletes were housed in north London school buildings or former RAF Nissen huts at Uxbridge or Richmond Park. The American team was quartered at Uxbridge and in Neil Drummond's terrific history, *The Fastest Men on Earth* (Collins Willow, 1998), Dillard recalls: "We had everything: good training, a laundry, a bank, even a motion picture theatre. Our food was flown in from the States, even the meat, vegetables and milk, because of the rationing... The British

were very friendly. I think they were glad to have something to celebrate after the years of bombing, and we had an excellent time sight-seeing."

If the 1924 Games in Paris are famed for the "Flying Finn" Paavo Nurmi and the Berlin Games 12 years later for another quadruple gold medalist, the American Jesse Owens, then London in 1948 remains imperishable for the running of the 30-year-old Dutch housewife Blankers-Koen, who took home four gold medals in the 100m, 200m, 80m hurdles and 4x100m relay. There was another lum-

inous athlete for the pantheon at these Games, one with whom war-wrecked Britain sensed an even more buoyant affinity. In 1948 the first Jamaican immigrants crossed the Atlantic on the steamer *Windrush*. One islander was already here, hopeful he might give his compatriots something to cheer. Arthur Wint, studiously bespectacled and standing 6ft 4in with a 10ft stride, had been enjoying his running with Polytechnic Harriers at Chislehurst. Wint had joined the RAF towards the end of the war and was now studying medicine at London University. He was



Keepers as Test match captains



Jack Blackham
Australia
Tests as captain 8 (w3, d2)
First 1885
Test batting average 15.68
Average as captain 22.00

Played in first 17 Tests ever, 35 in all. Stood up to all but Spofforth, who initially refused to play with him, preferring Murdoch, who also captained once. Made long-stop obsolescent. Described as 'the prince of wicketkeepers' with 'dark eyes as keen as a hawk'; he was also a bank clerk. Gloomy and nervous as a captain.

Ronald Stanyforth
England
Tests as captain 4 (w2, d1, 1)
First 1927
Test batting average 2.80
Average as captain 2.60

Captain Stanyforth, a regular army officer (aboard ship, above right), was promoted to lead England in South Africa when G.R. Jackson dropped out. An odd choice to tour, let alone captain; he failed to get a Blue at Oxford and had played no county cricket. Later had three games for Yorkshire despite birth in Chelsea. Close ties with MCC. Wrote textbook on wicketkeeping.

Gerry Alexander
West Indies
Tests as captain 18 (w7, d4, 7)
First 1958
Test batting average 30.03
Average as captain 22.19

Christened Franz Copeland

Murray, last of West Indies' while captains. Led tour of India when Roy Glickstein was sent home for bouncers, barmen and unspecified misdemeanours. Many West Indians saw clash as 'the 20th v 19th' in 1955, then a piebald v light-skinned Cambridge graduate (won FA Amateur Cup winner's medal with Regent). C.R. James waged 'Alexander Must Go' campaign. Equalised series record of 23 victims (1959-60). Later served happily as Frank Worrell's vice-captain. West Indies' second keeper/captain after Karl Nunes in 1928.

Imtiaz Ahmed
Pakistan
Tests as captain 4 (d2, d2)
First 1959
Test batting average 29.28
Average as captain 21.75

Played in Pakistan's first 39 Tests, 41 in all. First chosen as batsman, he took over behind stumps from Hanif Mohammad in fourth series against England at the time of the Packer defections. Balanced, agile and well practised in standing up to assorted spinners, he had 27 stumpings in 228 victims. India have had no Test captain/keeper. South Africa four — Ernest Halliwell, Sir Murray Bisset (v Lord Hawke's England; he died as acting Governor-General of Rhodesia), Percy Sherwell (who bagged the SA lawn tennis singles title in 1904 before 13 Tests

Barry Jarman
Tests as captain 1 (d1)
First 1968
Test batting average 14.81
Average as captain 7.00

Emerging from shadow of Wally Grout to play 19 Tests. Vice-captain on third tour to England. Stood in for Bill Lawry at Headingley, when Tom Graveney led



Wesim Bari
Pakistan
Tests as captain 8 (d2, d4)
First 1977
Test batting average 15.88
Average as captain 6.42

England for the only time. Deryck Murray (WI, 1979) was another among the 17 wicket-keeper Test captains to stand in for one match when his captain, Clive Lloyd, was injured.

Lee Gernon
New Zealand
Tests as captain 12 (w1, d5, d8)
First 1995
Test batting average 21.22
Average as captain 21.22

Came from nowhere to lead his country on debut, continuing through five series. The second New Zealand captain to captain from behind the stumps, which ought to be the best position for seeing what the bowlers are up to but is commonly considered difficult for captaincy. Ian Smith was the other, for one match. Three of these 18 have opened the batting in Tests when they were captain and keeper: Sherwell, Alexander and Imtiaz. Jeremy Alexander

Stewart's Test batting averages

| Test | innings | not out | runs | average |
|------|---------|---------|------|---------|
| 1 | 1 | 0 | 5588 | 42.18 |
| 2 | 3 | 0 | 2041 | 68.03 |
| 3 | 6 | 0 | 555 | 92.50 |

Stewart, then kept selected in five of six Test series captain. He lost the captaincy, his first, in India when Richard

behind the stumps, second only to Alexander) and 'Joek' Cameron (christened Horace Brinkworth, who died of typhoid a few weeks after returning from the 1935 tour to England) — and Zimbabweans one, Andy Flower, who did eight Tests before conceding that batting and keeping was quite enough.

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to become a surgeon and, from 1974 to 1978, Jamaican High Commissioner to Britain. That 1948 midsummer the 20-year-old embraced on the quayside at Plymouth three younger athletes from his homeland. Each in their early twenties, George Rhoden, Leslie Laing and Herb McKenley were to make up, with the near veteran Wint, what many track scholars regard as history's finest 4x400m relay team. To Wembley's acclamation Wint ravishingly won the gold medal in the 400m and the silver in the 800 behind the dashing

American Mal Whitfield. McKenley, already 400m world record holder, had been second to Wint, as well as running fourth in the 200m, two places ahead of Laing. The 21-year-old of dazzling potential. The four of them would surely give the crack United States quartet a run for their dollars. And that is exactly what they were doing until Wint, on the third leg and leading the new 400m hurdles champion Roy Cochran, pulled up with cramps. The US anchor man Whitfield cruised home in the final leg.

The morning after, in their Uxbridge hut, Wint said goodbye to his three young compatriots as they left for home but only having insisted they all pledge to line up again in four years' time at Helsinki and not only beat the Americans but break an enduring world record of Smith & Co which had stood since 1932. Four years on the 200m specialist Laing now had the power to 'hold' the second leg to perfection; Rhoden had grown up not only to take the 400m world record from his friend McKenley but to beat him for gold at that distance in Helsinki;

McKenley, now 30, had freshly added to his 1948 tally of silver medals with second place in both the 100m and 400m; and the 32-year-old Wint, having run the first crucial leg, had time to zip off his green-and-gold Jamaican vest for Rhoden to put it on — once on the track they realised they could muster only three between them — and run a blazing last leg which this time demolished the great Whitfield. So Wint became the oldest track athlete in history to win an Olympic gold medal. In doing so the four of them sliced an astonishing 4.3sec

off that long unassailable world record. That evening in the Olympic village they toasted their London pledge four years earlier with a bottle of malt whisky that Wint had brought over for the express purpose. They had only tooth-mugs to drink from. Years later Wint revealed that there was just a single measure left when there was a determined knock on the locked door. It was the Duke of Edinburgh. Wint happily poured him the final draught and they drank again to an Uxbridge Nissen-but resolution. August can be a romantic month.

Pitch it high and bend the knees for a start in barefoot curling

FAIR GAME

Julie Welch

SOME sports are never off our television screens or back pages for a short period of the year, then abruptly disappear from national consciousness as soon as their big event is over. Tennis, for instance, has the lifespan of a duckling crossing the M25. Once Wimbledon is finished it ceases to exist, leaving the British game with a large surplus of people in blazers, minor royalties, bottles of lemon barley water and players' girlfriends wearing sunglasses on their foreheads. As with other sports so fatally unappealing that they never get on telly at all, one way of finding a use for these remnants is to go round the country putting on faster sessions or fun days. In the real, professional world sport is anything but fun and these occasions are not much different. Nevertheless, hand-outs like paper baseball caps and dog-eared posters are usually enough to attract people through the gates, even if what is being promoted is some esoteric sport such as barefoot curling.

Unfortunately the kind of people they attract are so fat and uncoordinated they are incapable of doing anything more taxing than waddle about picking up free bats and posters, otherwise they would be in the British barefoot curling squad already. Even so, the fact that something over the other side of the ground is free is enough to

get most of them breaking into a run, far more so than phrases like Department of Health Fitness Guidelines. Another useful way of attracting new participants and keeping one's sport in the public eye is to put on an exhibition. This works well if the object is to raise awareness of something compact and on-the-spot like table tennis or topless darts. Less so if pushing something with vaguer boundaries of time and space, like Ironman Triathlon in which everyone has to fly off to Hawaii before getting started. Similarly it is difficult to organise an exhibition of long-distance walking because all the volunteer walkers will turn up outside the Scout Hut at 7am, tuck their trousers in their socks and set off for the Lake District, where they will be rescued by helicopter 48 hours later from the top of Scafell with beat exhaustion and some terrible cases of blisters. Clubs trying to attract a younger generation of participants should be careful of their image. It is no use telling them the sport is vibrant, groovy and happening if its public face is a rheumy-eyed old twit in a smelly cardigan. What impresses people most is a friendly, youthful atmosphere, which can be achieved by getting kids from local clubs or leagues to show off their skill. Obviously it is important to choose them carefully; the last thing needed is a bunch of teenage cyclists moving each other down in a steroid-induced rage or 13-year-old girls trying to prove a point by decking the 6ft-6in, 15-stone bloke who has just said women's boxing should be banned. Talented youngsters are often attracted to sports that can be played in cool, fashionable kit, so they can earn even more money in endorsements. Some sports are put at a disadvantage by this. The luge will never attract the David Beckhams of tomorrow as long as its

participants have to dress up in giant condoms. Likewise cross-country swimmers tend to be limited to endorsing jelly-fish repellent though, as they have to cover themselves in huge amounts of grease, there are always openings in suit. The talented kid is sport's equivalent of futures trading. Whatever he is good at, every sport from cricket to rugby to athletics will be after him. There may even be somebody trying to convince him that in 10 years' time tiddlywinks is going to be as big as football. Football clubs, of course, will produce all sorts of inducements to those who let their two-year-old sign terms with them and there, which he can do either by finger painting or dabbing the contract with half-chewed chicken nugget. The wise parent will resist. Otherwise in six months he will have to leave home when the club need to balance their books by selling off their promising youngsters and dog him on for £1.5 million. By reception-class age he will be training with Ajax after a spell at Boca Juniors. After that it will be impossible to keep track of him except through the tatty old newspapers when at seven he gets engaged to his first Spice Girl.

Evans above the clenched fist but still running on high

CENTRE STAGE

Pete Nichols

AT the 1968 Olympics in Mexico the politics outweighed the athletics, which took some doing. Jim Hines in the 100 metres — the first all-black Olympic final — Tom Smith in the 200m and Lee Evans in the 400m all broke world records and the American 4x400 squad might still hold one if their anchor man Evans had not spent so much time looking over his shoulder for the distant Kenyans. Those images, if not that of Bob Beamon's long jump that extended the record by almost 22 inches, have faded in the memory for when Smith and Carlos stood on the rostrum in 1968, they each raised a clenched black-gloved fist to the sky. Not since Rosa Parks, a 42-year-old from Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her seat on a bus in 1955 had a simple gesture carried such weight. Parks was charged with "violation of the city ordinance", which triggered the Alabama protests. Smith and Carlos were expelled from the Games by the enraged United States Olympic Committee. Outside America the implications were digested less emotionally. The Thursday evening before they left the Olympic Village Carlos went to the room of Evans, who had contemplated withdrawing from the 400m. Carlos told him he should run and Evans did, establishing a world record that would last until Butch Reynolds broke it in Zurich almost 20 years later. "So you're the guy who made this record so hard," said Reynolds to Evans when they met later. Evans made his own protest in the thin air of Mexico City. When the relay team, or Vince Matthews, Ron Freeman, Larry James and Evans, stood atop the podium, having set a world record that would last 24 years, they each raised a clenched fist, too. The reaction this time was more subdued. Smith and Carlos were destined to struggle for years when they returned to a generally unsympathetic America. Evans had fewer problems, teaching and coaching at San Jose University, but



Baton charge... Lee Evans in Mexico City, 1968. ALSPOT

he was not to stay long in America. "I first thought about coaching in Africa during the Olympic Games. I thought it would be wonderful to go back to my roots," he recalls. Evans's life since has been an extraordinary journey. For seven years, from 1974, the double Olympic champion coached the Nigerian sprinters in Lagos. "I knew they had talent; I just wanted to help them," he says. He returned to the US, but for only 18 months, before a second tour in Africa, this time as a staff member for the US Information Service, a job which entailed running coaching clinics in 16 African countries over a two-year period. In 1986 he moved to Cameroon for a two-year spell as Fulbright professor of coaching in the capital, Yaounde. There followed a two-year post in Washington, as director of coaching for the Special Olympics, before he accepted a four-year job in charge of the Qatar Olympic sprint team. From there Evans took a short ride to Saudi Arabia, for a three-year term tending to their sprinters. Last year, after a 35-year journey that had embraced a continent and more, Evans and family — his wife and three children travel with him — settled in Antananarivo, Madagascar. In the mountains, more than 7,000ft above sea level, Evans has established the Indian Ocean Athletic Training Centre and has applied to the International Amateur Athletic Federation for funding. He laughs when asked if

he is still searching for his roots; 25 years is a long while to look. He is comfortable in Africa but returns to California, where it all began, about once a year. This Thursday, however, the 51-year-old will fly to Portland, Oregon, to take part in the World Masters Games, where he is entered for the 400m and 800m. Nightfall in Madagascar must seem a lifetime away from Mexico but Evans makes the leap. "I knew when I did it [the 400m record] it would be hard to beat but the relay record I knew would last a long time. When I go back, you know, it gets me a lot of respect among the young 400m men." In Atlanta in 1996 he met Roger Black: "We talked, we had a picture taken together." He has heard, too, about Mark Richardson and Iwan Thomas but is bewildered to learn that Black is not going to the European Championships. "What time did he run in the trials?" he asks. At the answer, 44.71, Evans hums like a wire. He does not mention that it is almost a second slower than he ran 30 years ago and that Thomas's British record, set just summer, would still have left him four yards short of Evans. Evans is not concerned with history now but with the middle of Britain's most successful 400m runner since Eric Liddell. "But he's the captain; he's on the relay, right?" he inquires. No, he is told, Black has quit. And on a mountain on an island off the east coast of Africa one of the greatest 400m runners in history takes a moment to digest the fact.

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DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

CALL FOR PROPOSALS

MUSEUM EXHIBITION DESIGNERS, PLANNERS OR CONSORTIA FOR THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AUSTRALIA

The Commonwealth Government of Australia has approved funding from the Federation Fund for new facilities for the National Museum of Australia and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra. The new facilities will be ready to open in January 2001 as the Commonwealth Government flagship for the Centenary of Federation celebrations.

The Government has established the Construction Coordination Committee (CCC) to advise on the development of the co-located facilities into an integrated project. The Committee is chaired by Mr Jim Service AM, the Chairman of the National Museum of Australia.

The Department of Communications and the Arts, on behalf of the CCC, is seeking a museum exhibition designer to participate in an alliance team to deliver new facilities for the National Museum of Australia. Allowing it a project execution approach aimed at creating mutually beneficial relationships between all involved parties to produce exceptional results. The alliance will be composed of the Department, the architects, the building and services contractor, the museum exhibition designer and project advisors. Schematic design for the buildings is complete and construction will commence in November 1998.

It is envisaged that the National Museum of Australia will innovatively present its themes and collections as well as exciting programs for Australian and international visitors. The successful museum exhibition designer will have the ability to carry the exhibition work from concept development, through design documentation to installation and commissioning of international standard exhibitions. Submissions must demonstrate design skills and resource capabilities to cope with a national project of this size and complexity. In addition, consultants will be expected to demonstrate they can produce innovative strategies to contribute to and shape the total visitor experience; their ability to contribute to the project; and their ability to locate in Canberra with the alliance team.

To register as a tenderer and receive the Call for Proposals book, consultants should supply their contact details in name, address, telephone and fax, numbers to Ms Raine Naulty, tel: +61 2 6271 1453, fax: +61 2 6271 1222, email: rnaulty@cca.gov.au by 5pm 25 August (Australian EST time). Direct all enquiries to Ms Margaret Backhouse, Construction Coordination Committee, tel: +61 2 6271 1609, fax: +61 2 6271 1222, email: mbackhouse@cca.gov.au

Tenders will close at 5pm Monday 31 August 1998 (Australian EST time).

Tenders should be delivered to:

Construction Coordination Task Force
Department of Communications and the Arts
GPO Box 2154
Canberra City ACT 2601
Australia

or by hand to the Department at 38 Sydney Ave/Forest, ACT 2601.

Find more information about the project on the Internet at:

http://www.nma.gov.au/ and
http://www.cca.gov.au/responses/nmaindex.htm

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Athletics

Pratt fall pales beside gold

Duncan Mackay

ANOTHER two gold medals for Great Britain as the World Junior Championships came to an end in Annecy last night showed that athletics in this country can approach the millennium with confidence. The sport's problems of the track seemed a million miles away as Julie Pratt won the 100 metres hurdles and David Parker the javelin to take Britain's tally to four gold medals after Christian Malcolm had completed the men's sprint double on Saturday.

The haul surpassed Britain's previous best performance at these championships 12 years ago. Victory for Pratt was particularly sweet because 12 months ago she had fallen when leading in the European Junior Championships and suffered severe friction burns. Yesterday she defied the rain sweeping in off the Alps and four false starts to beat the hot favourite, China's Hong Wei Sun, in a photo-finish. Both runners were credited with the same time of 13.55 seconds.

It was one of Britain's most unexpected gold medals in championship history at any level. Sun had a personal best of 12.92 compared with Pratt's 13.52. "When I cleared the last hurdle I just closed my eyes and ran. I didn't know I had won until I heard the announcement," said Pratt, who is out of the same Essex Ladies stable as Sally Gunnell.

Parker's triumph owed almost as much to the team's physiotherapist as his own efforts. Two weeks ago he could not even walk because he tore a ligament behind his right knee. He aggravated the injury in qualifying on Friday when a French official walked across his path as he was preparing to throw.

The 19-year-old Scarborough schoolboy spent much of the next 48 hours on the treatment table, trying to get ready for the final. But it proved to be worth it as he threw 72.95 metres with his first effort and was never beaten. "It was important to get a good throw early to put the others under pressure," Parker said. "I was biting my nails all through the last round."

Parker thus plipped his training partner Steve Bakley to the honour of becoming the first British man to win a javelin title at a global championships.

On Saturday Malcolm looked awesome when he added the 200m title to the 100m gold medal he had won three days earlier. The 19-year-old Welshman swept to a five-metre victory in a championship record 20.44, which took 0.10sec off Ade Mafe's UK junior record that had stood for 13 years.

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Malcolm... sprint double

Motorcycling

Super Fogarty races on

THE Australian Troy Corser stretched his lead in the Superbike World Championship at Brands Hatch yesterday with victory in the second of the day's two races, beating the local hero Carl Fogarty into second place.

Corser overcame early tyre problems to dominate the race from start to finish as around 82,000 hike fans — the biggest crowd ever at a bike race in mainland Britain — saw Fogarty joined by his fellow Briton James Whitham, who set a new lap record, on the podium.

Corser now has 275.5 points in the championship with the Honda-rider New Zealander Aaron Slight second with 245, with three rounds and six races remaining.

The Texan Colin Edwards held off Slight for victory in



Last lap... Black acknowledges a standing ovation in the British Grand Prix

Mellow Black crosses the finishing line in style

Duncan Mackay in Sheffield finds Britain's retiring captain has no complaints after coming home third in his final 400m race

ROGER BLACK did not win his last race but he bowed out of athletics at the Don Valley stadium last night in a style befitting someone who gloriously bestrode British athletics for 13 years.

The bitterness of the past few days, when the British team captain raged at his non-selection for the individual 400 metres at the European Championships in Budapest, was forgotten as Black received standing ovations before and after finishing third behind the winner Mark Richardson in 46.05 seconds.

For 350 metres, Black dreamed of winning as he battled shoulder-to-shoulder with Richardson and Iwan Thomas. But this was no exhibition race and Richardson found an extra gear to defeat his training partner.

So hasty was Black's decision to retire that the organisers did not even include a tribute to him in the programme. Instead there was an article about his chances of

winning the European Championships for an unprecedented third time. By then he will have started his new television career with the BBC.

The 32-year-old will be working at Zurich's Weltklasse Grand Prix on August 12. Budapest a week later and the Commonwealth Games in Kuala Lumpur from September 11-21. "It's a great challenge," said Black. "Once you've been in sport you don't ever want to leave it."

Since Thursday's announcement acrimony has mellowed into a realisation that one controversy should not overshadow a career with many more highs than lows.

"I am not leaving a bitter man," he said. "By winning the Olympic silver medal in 1996 I know I fulfilled my potential. I've had my day; who am I to complain?"

After so many near misses Paula Radcliffe, the Bedford runner, who has had her head in the mountains for more than a month of altitude

training, came down to earth with a bang, producing the performance of the meeting to win the 3,000m in 8min 38.94sec, taking nearly five seconds off Mary Slaney's seven-year-old stadium record.

In the process the 24-year-old destroyed an out-of-sorts Sonia O'Sullivan. It was a huge psychological victory for Radcliffe, outkicked so often by the Irish woman in major races, as the pair could clash again in the European Championships 10,000m.

Jonathan Edwards will hope his performance last night was a one-off. The triple jumper struggled to find any kind of rhythm and was facing a rare defeat until the final round, when he leapt 17.14 metres to move from fourth to first. But he was clearly not happy; as soon as the last jump had been completed Edwards rushed down the tunnel, barely acknowledging the crowd's applause, to receive treatment on an ankle injury.

"The most redeeming factor today was that I won," said the world record holder. "I am at a loss to explain why I jumped so badly — even my winning jump was terrible."

Colin Jackson suffered an even more disappointing night, overwhelmed by the Americans in the 110m hurdles. The Welshman finished ahead of Mark Crear, this year's world No. 1, but had to give way to Reggie Torian and the Olympic champion Allen Johnson. Jackson was shoulder-to-shoulder at half way but Torian found another gear to triumph in 13.15sec. Jackson clocked 13.24.

The Nivea Sprint Challenge For Men, the three-race series designed to find a 100m successor to Linford Christie, has been made all but redundant by the recent performance of Darren Campbell and Christian Malcolm, neither of whom has competed in the event.

Dwain Chambers won the final in 10.24sec but the \$10,000 (£5,100) first prize was won by Jo Jo Robertson by two and one while Radcliffe, who has announced her intention to turn professional, was always too good for the 49-year-old cup veteran Carol Semple-Thompson and she won by three and two.

Nevertheless the holders still had a daunting deficit to overcome after falling 5/16-3/4 behind to the United States at the halfway stage in Minneapolis. It meant that to retain the trophy they needed to collect 5/16 of the nine points at stake.

There was an outstanding performance by Rebecca Hindson, at 19 the youngest member of the British side, who secured a half against Janu, a Hungarian, who led the play-off. But Hindson felt it was a missed opportunity; she was four up after six holes and only some brilliant putting by the American prevented her winning that game.

There was huge disappointment for Alison Ross, the heroine of the 1994 cup triumph at Killarney. She lost both her matches on the opening day.

Britain's Laura Davies looked to have blown her chance of victory at the Du Maurier Classic in Canada, the season's final major. A third-round two-under-par

Golf

Parnevik holds off expectant Clarke

Gordon Richardson in Stockholm

THE expectant father, Darrare Clarke delivered three birchies in the home straight in yesterday's Scandinavian Masters here at Kungsängen but they failed to prevent Jesper Parnevik from galloping to victory.

Despite being preoccupied by thoughts of his wife Heather, who had entered hospital to give birth to their first child, the Ulsterman produced a bold effort that would have put the squeeze on most opponents.

He twice sank 25-footers for three but Parnevik's instant reply came with a 25-footer for a two at the 12th before cooing in a 10-footer to match Clarke's second successive birdie at the 15th.

When the powerful Ulsterman's tee-shot at the short 16th drifted close to a water hazard and cost him four it was case closed. Parnevik could afford the luxury of a bogey five after a hunkered approach to the last, finally winning by three strokes with a 70 for an 11-under-par 273.

It was Clarke's second successive second place, following last week's Dutch Open, and a pair of \$58,880 cheques have lifted him above Colin Montgomerie (\$442,857) into second place in the European money list with £472,223, behind Lee Westwood (£250,385).

Clarke is hoping it will be a case of third time lucky in the US PGA Championship in Seattle next week although he insists he will not cross the Atlantic if any complications develop over the birth, declaring: "My wife and baby are far more important than golf."

Before boarding a flight home to be by his wife's side Clarke admitted that Parnevik, a team-mate in last year's Ryder Cup-winning squad in Spain, fully deserved his second victory in four years in this event.

"I never got any momentum going after dropping a shot at the 2nd and he played very solid golf. I tried to get back into it with those birdies coming home and after going nine under I expected to be



Parnevik... weary way

only two behind, but he knocked his putt straight in for a birdie at 15.

"I've been second in Europe three times this year and the feeling is of disappointment rather than satisfaction; golf is all about winning."

"But I've played well and I'm up to second in the order of merit with a chance to finish No. 1 for the first time."

In truth it was a comfortable day for Parnevik, whose lead was never less than the two-stroke advantage he held overnight.

He admitted, however, that the pressure of winning in front of a home crowd which numbered 29,000 yesterday was not easy to handle.

"They want you to win and they expect you to win," he explained. "I was very tired after my practice round and fell asleep again after two alarm calls on Thursday, then dropped three quick shots to par. I thought I'd be somewhere else at the weekend."

"The one negative thing about the victory is that I've lost confidence with the putter. I had 37 putts today and it's something I must sort out before the US PGA."

Montgomerie, despite two closing 68s for a two-under 282 and joint 16th place, also takes putting worries with him to the United States on Friday. "I've seen Dave Pate, who's about the best putting teacher in the business, to fly up to Seattle from Texas to give me a lesson," he explained.

Fairclough opens Solheim door with dogged victory

Elspeth Burnside in Trosselberg

LANCASHIRE'S Lora Fairclough achieved her season's goal with a European Tour victory — her first for three years — in the German Open here yesterday but refused to get worked up about the forthcoming Solheim Cup.

Fairclough was tipped as a star in the making when she made her debut in the 1994 matches between Europe and the United States but her career went into reverse two years ago when she dropped out of the automatic selections on the final counting event.

Last night she moved to No. 8 in the rankings, after closing with 74 for a 10-under-par 282 winning total in sultry conditions here near Hamburg.

Later this month Europe's top seven will be named for the side to take on the Americans in the 110th hurdles. The Welshman finished ahead of Mark Crear, this year's world No. 1, but had to give way to Reggie Torian and the Olympic champion Allen Johnson. Jackson was shoulder-to-shoulder at half way but Torian found another gear to triumph in 13.15sec. Jackson clocked 13.24.

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"That was my aim at the start of the year. The Solheim can just take care of itself."

Cheshire's Joanne Morley, whose only Tour win came in the 1996 German Open over this course, again showed her liking for the rolling parkland layout. Morley racked five birdies into the first 14 holes and, at that stage, had closed to one behind Fairclough.

But, while the winner-to-be was holling from eight feet for a birdie at the 14th, Morley was bunkering her tee-shot on the way to a four at the short 16th — a two-shot swing that virtually assured Fairclough of the £15,000 prize.

Morley, whose three-under-par 70 was the last day's joint best, eventually had to settle for a share of second with France's Stephanie Dhallageville and Lika Fairclough, she is playing down her chances of Solheim selection. A member of the side that was defeated at St Pierre two years ago, Morley is now at No. 8 in the rankings. "What will be will be," she said. "All I can do is play the best that I can over the next three weeks."

On Saturday Trish Johnson had upset the tournament director Michael Petch by appearing on the tee in an Arsenal shirt — she had committed the same offence last

year and had been fined. She will suffer a similar fate after a meeting of the Tour committee later this week.

Ironically yesterday she shared breakfast in her hotel with Kevin Keegan, who won the European player of the year award with Hamburg, and his wife. He mischievously presented her with a Hamburg shirt but she refrained from putting it on for the final round.

In fact the 32-year-old was attired in a plain white polo shirt, which might have appeared Petch but did nothing for the photographers who were hoping to see a High-bury number.

Joint second at the start of the final round, Johnson's less spectacular attire was reflected in her play. With two seconds and a third in her three other European event this year, she slipped to joint sixth with a 76 that contained only one birdie — a spectacular lob wedge into the hole at the 18th.

Opinion was mixed regarding Johnson's misdemeanour. Fairclough, another football fan, joked: "It might have been okay if it had been Bolton Wanderers," before adding more seriously: "Football shirts are for football and golf shirts are for golf."

Morgan turns up the revs

GREAT Britain and Ireland were thrown a late-night lifeline by the English champion Elaine Radcliffe and Wales's Betsy Morgan, who won their matches at the bottom of the order to give them a glimmer of hope of retaining the Curtis Cup.

Morgan actually recovered from being two down to beat Jo Jo Robertson by two and one while Radcliffe, who has announced her intention to turn professional, was always too good for the 49-year-old cup veteran Carol Semple-Thompson and she won by three and two.

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Britain's Laura Davies looked to have blown her chance of victory at the Du Maurier Classic in Canada, the season's final major. A third-round two-under-par

70 left Davies eight shots adrift of the leader Brandie Burton, who went three clear after a 66 put her on 198 and 18 under.

Sweden's Annika Sorenstam and the American Meg Mallon both shot 67 to head the chasing pack while Betsy King with a 70 and Pat Hurst with a 71 were two shots further back on 203.

Davies was one of six women tied for ninth on 206 after she failed to build on opening rounds of 69 and 87. The next best among the Britons was Lisa Heckenry, who was eight under after a 71.

Scotland's Mhairi McKay made some progress with a 69 for 210, along with Catriona Matthew, who slipped to a 74 after two earlier rounds of 68. The Korean Se Ri Pak, seeking her third major of the year, was also on six-under after a disappointing 71.

● Boh Estes recorded three straight birdies on the back nine to tie the former champion Nick Price for the lead on 202 after three rounds of the St Jude Classic in Memphis, Tennessee. John Daly lost his temper after driving into the lake at the 18th to finish with a 74, walked off and was disqualified.

Sport in brief

Motor Sport
Rickard Rydell increased his lead in the British Touring Car Championship at Thruxton yesterday despite being beaten by his two main rivals, Anthony Reid once and Alain Menu twice.

The Swede finished third in both races and has now opened up a daunting 45-point lead over Renault's Menu, the reigning champion, who moved into second place, with only eight races remaining.

Two spectators, on a seven-year-old child, died in a rally in Madeira on Saturday after being hit by a car driven by the Portuguese champion Adriano Lopes at a high-speed corner.

Snooker
Mike Hallett and Tony Knowles, two of the game's leading lights in the 1980s, reached the third round of the European Open qualifying competition in Plymouth. Hallett, once fifth but now

128th in the world rankings, beat Glasgow's David McLellan 5-3, while Knowles, a former world No. 2, eased past the Australian Neil Robertson 5-1.

Basketball
The Nigerian Julius Nwosu, a centre who plays for the Turkish club Galatasaray, has been banned for two months after testing positive for ephedrine while playing for Nigeria at the world championships.

Swimming
South Africa's Penny Heyns set a world record of 20.26sec in the 50 metres breaststroke at the Goodwill Games in New York in the first half of a 100m race.

Cycling
The former British champion Colin Sturgess won the Tour of the Cotswolds in Gloucester Park to spearhead a Brites Racing Team one-two. Sturgess clocked 4hr 56min 56sec for the gruelling 118-mile course to finish ahead of his team-mate Chris Newent.

50 nations
1000 athletes

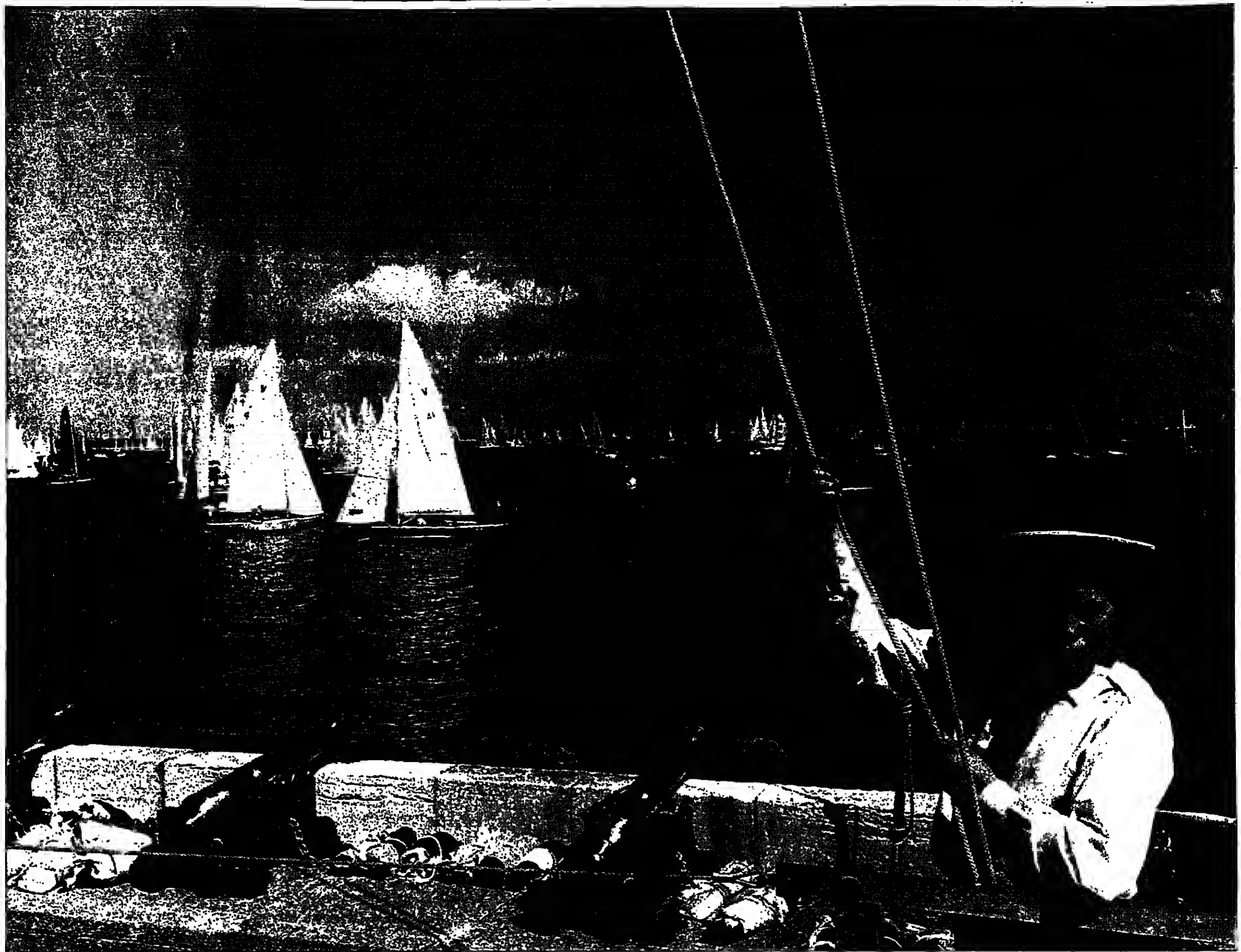
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Ready, steady, don't go... a navy cadet gets ready to hoist a flag at the Royal Squadron starting line at Cowes, where a lack of wind has led to chaos in The Solent

PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS

Somnolent Solent causes chaos as Cowes Week runs out of puff

Bob Fisher at Cowes

AEOLUS, the Greek bloke in charge of the wind, has chosen this weekend — the beginning of Cowes Week — to go on

his holidays. The result has been a drizzle of wind from every conceivable direction, leaving sailors baffled and the organisers with a near-impossible task. Moderate chaos would be an adequate description for

the finish of four classes, with a total of more than 100 boats crossing a line as many yards long. It was as if the entire cast of a French farce had entered the bedroom at the same time. There simply was not

sufficient room for all the boats. It was as well the wind was light, or non-existent, when the Sigma 33s and 36s, together with Classes 3 and 4, finished in a log-jam at the Elephant buoy, or the

damage would have been appalling. Class 1 is where the action is meant to be but, as these boats were among the first to start, their early stages have been in drifting conditions. On the first day Glyn

Williams's 41ft Wolf was a comfortable winner but yesterday Wolf had to give best to Peter Harrison's Farr-designed 50-footer Russe Noir 96. Tony de Mulder's Farr 40, Victor V, has been second on both occasions.

Class 3 has been badly affected and the matter of whether they finished Saturday's race is still to be resolved. Fabrice Tropes, with Major Tom, won the second race from Jonty Layfield's Sleeper.

Mike Slade's 80ft Bombay Gin has the running of the Maxi class very much to itself. With only two competitors, and John Caulcutt's Maxima retiring on both days, Slade and his crew are sailing lonely races.

Test ticket sales rocket

Mike Selvey reports on renewed enthusiasm as England name an unchanged squad for the series decider at Headingley

ENGLAND's supporters were obviously as desperate for success as their team. They turned up in their thousands on the last day at Trent Bridge to watch England level the series with South Africa and now ticket sales for the decider at Headingley, which starts on Thursday, have passed the £1 million mark. Yesterday, as England named an unchanged squad for the game, the Yorkshire secretary David Ryder said: "We have already sold over £200,000 worth of tickets in the last week alone and that has never been done here before."

"Now that the team has been announced and the pre-match publicity is beginning in earnest, we believe the sales will accelerate even more. It was all a very different story a week ago."

Though no changes had been expected to the squad, three players would have

been to the team announcement with more than a hint of trepidation. Neither Dominic Cork, Graeme Hick nor Ian Salisbury had a memorable game at Trent Bridge: Cork's lethargic bowling in the first innings tended to reinforce the case for the prosecution against Alec Stewart after he had put the opposition in to bat; Hick, given the opportunity to re-establish himself in Test cricket away from the firing line at the top of the order, failed the only time he

went to the crease; and claims of the leg-spinner Salisbury's newly developed accuracy and confidence proved sadly premature as Hansie Cronje stripped his bowling naked. By the time the final XI is announced on Thursday morning it may well have been decided that Headingley's relatively recently laid surface remains sufficiently capricious for a specialist spinner to be superfluous. That would leave Salisbury the one-off Test against Sri

Lanka later this month as his proving ground for a place on the winter tour to Australia.

However, should Stewart's strategy involve batting first and Salisbury's bowling — more effective on a wearing pitch in the fourth innings — be deemed necessary, then a seamer has to go. Under the circumstances, with the selectors keen by all accounts to get Alan Mullally into the side with his left-arm pace bowling, it could be Cork who is omitted and left to fight for his Test future.

Neither the selectors nor, apparently, the captain were enamoured with Cork's first-innings effort. There were

reports of harsh dressing-room words and criticism of his decision not to play in Derbyshire's match against

Sri Lanka between the third and fourth Tests, which meant that his only bowling in almost a fortnight was in one knock-out tie and one Sunday League match.

In the continuing absence through injury of Graham Thorpe, few batsmen — John Crawley perhaps, himself trying to find a route back into the Test side, or possibly Niall Loe — have offered any challenge to Hick who, in his first Test for two years, made just half-a-dozen runs before bottom edging on to his stumps.

It was not an auspicious return but neither was it conclusive regarding his technique and temperament and he did hang on to a couple of stupendous slip catches. In the latter part of his Test career he has averaged well over 40 with the bat, good going by any standard. To bring him back, yet again, for one game only before dropping him would be harsh.

Alec Stewart profile, page 18

Test averages

| Player | M | I | NO | Runs | HS | Avg | 100 | 50 |
|---------------|----|-----|----|------|-------|-------|-----|----|
| A J Stewart | 79 | 12 | 10 | 5598 | 190 | 42.32 | 11 | 29 |
| M A Atherton | 83 | 153 | 0 | 5916 | 185 | 40.25 | 12 | 37 |
| C Ince | 33 | 52 | 0 | 1527 | 87 | 25.14 | 0 | 10 |
| G A Hick | 47 | 81 | 5 | 2076 | 178 | 35.70 | 4 | 16 |
| M A Blythe | 12 | 23 | 1 | 364 | 67 | 28.63 | 0 | 4 |
| M R Samuels | 27 | 47 | 3 | 1054 | 154 | 22.55 | 0 | 4 |
| G A Hick | 23 | 34 | 4 | 547 | 89 | 18.23 | 0 | 2 |
| I D K Bellamy | 10 | 18 | 2 | 378 | 50 | 17.37 | 0 | 1 |
| A Flintoff | 1 | 1 | 0 | 17 | 17.00 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| D Gough | 24 | 34 | 6 | 393 | 55 | 13.75 | 0 | 2 |
| A D Murray | 9 | 12 | 4 | 79 | 24 | 9.87 | 0 | 0 |
| A R C Fraser | 42 | 58 | 11 | 343 | 29 | 7.08 | 0 | 0 |

| Player | Ovrs | M | Runs | Wkts | Avg | 5W | 10W | Best |
|---------------|--------|-----|------|------|--------|----|-----|------|
| A R C Fraser | 1070.4 | 411 | 4401 | 182 | 27.15 | 12 | 2 | 6-63 |
| D Gough | 837 | 159 | 2638 | 93 | 28.31 | 5 | 0 | 6-48 |
| G A Hick | 368.5 | 173 | 2700 | 88 | 30.33 | 5 | 0 | 7-48 |
| A D Murray | 395.5 | 114 | 627 | 28 | 22.30 | 0 | 0 | 3-44 |
| G A Hick | 450.3 | 128 | 1247 | 22 | 56.98 | 0 | 0 | 4-12 |
| I D K Bellamy | 309.3 | 35 | 1820 | 18 | 87.77 | 0 | 0 | 4-16 |
| A Flintoff | 23 | 3 | 86 | 1 | 86.00 | 0 | 0 | 1-48 |
| M R Samuels | 90.1 | 13 | 284 | 3 | 94.66 | 0 | 0 | 1-32 |
| M A Atherton | 65 | 12 | 302 | 3 | 100.66 | 0 | 0 | 1-20 |
| A D Murray | 12 | 2 | 44 | 0 | — | 0 | 0 | 0-0 |
| A J Stewart | 3.2 | 0 | 13 | 0 | — | 0 | 0 | 0-0 |

Tour match: Essex v South Africans

All pumps to a lost cause as a crocodile waits

Robert Kitson at Chelmsford

WHEN the emergency services have to be summoned to salvage a few hours' cricket on a Sunday in August, it is an iron-minded South African tourist whose thoughts do not turn to beach or game reserve. It took an Essex fire crew all morning to pump away the floodwater from much of the outfield and, when play finally started at 2pm, a lifeless contest had all the appeal of a sodden carpet.

When the pressure rises at

Headingley this week, though, only the unwary should expect South Africa to be slow to respond. The sight of Hansie Cronje leading his side straight back out once the last rites of this draw had been administered, erecting nets and putting in some serious practice, told its own story. The way the captain sees it, the loudest alarm bells in Leeds will be heard in the home dressing-room.

"It's an important Test match for us. We know we have to lift our level of play higher than at Old Trafford or

Trent Bridge," commented Cronje evenly.

Up on the balcony Allan Donald resembled a crocodile on the river bank, lying ominously in wait and shedding

few tears over Merv Kitchen's doleful reaction to his Nottingham trials. "He had a couple of shockers that affected the course of the game. Like all umpires he is dealing with people's careers whenever he's in the middle," said Donald, echoing Mark Ramprakash's angry words to Darrell Hair earlier this season. "He seemed under

pressure to me, like we all are, and I suppose there comes a time when eventually you've had enough."

Any doubts in the South African camp are confined to the composition of their final XI. "We're not going to panic after one Test," insisted Cronje. "We won't make too many dramatic changes."

Like England, South Africa are contemplating going in without a spinner, be it Pat Symcox or Paul Adams. That might yet allow Brian McMillan to claim a place in the side. Watching Mark Lott twice

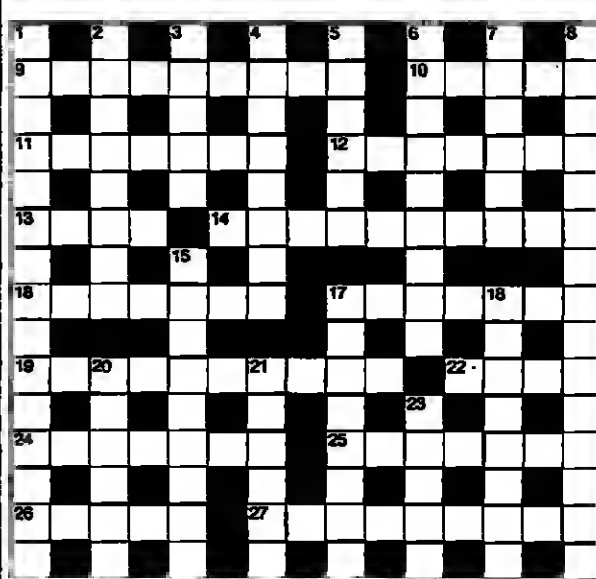
depositing Symcox over his head for six failed to suggest that the 38-year-old bowler will scare the life out of the home side, and it was Shaun Pollock with three for 37 who looked best-prepared for the fray.

Tim Hodgson and Barry Ryan paddled the weakened home side but it was the departing fire engine which attracted the day's most enthusiastic applause. In this summer of summers, we were bound to experience hosepipe fans eventually.

Picture, page 17

Guardian Crossword No 21,343

Set by Rufus

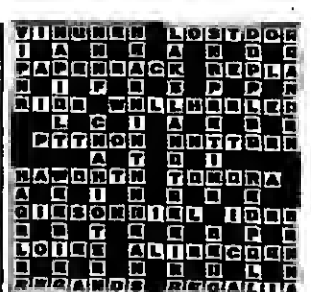


Across

- 9 Musical production turned into theatrical work (5)
- 10 Source of wild laughter (5)
- 11 Bill given by a retailer? (7)
- 12 Slushy product made by Mother with a whisk, perhaps (7)
- 13 I make an offer in place of a previous quotation (4)
- 14 Understanding it's becoming popular (5,2)
- 16 Do not notice the lack of proper cars (7)
- 17 Chasing a double century I hit out and get it (7)
- 19 Just inclined to like blondes? (4-5)
- 22 Smart fellow the French take into 11 across (4)
- 24 Sporting official may help us get a job (7)

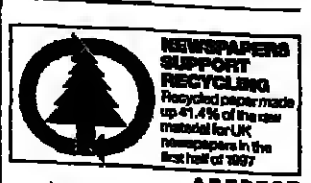
Down

- 1 Revolutionary system for increasing the harvest (5,2,5)
- 2 Realising it's delightful (5)
- 3 Churned up mud at the starting line (5)
- 4 Absent-minded girl's distinguishing feature (5)
- 5 Consisting of wise sayings of Zurich bankers? (5)
- 6 A bit of entertainment worth seeing? (5)
- 7 We sign for some housework (5)
- 8 They were places to charge for the Brighton Belle (7,4)



WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 21,338
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are G. A. Flay of Carlisle, Cumbria, Eric Wylie of Wimbome, Dorset, Mrs. T. G. Barnes of Cleveland, Becky Harris of Abingdon, and Jeffrey Woodham of Colchester, Essex.
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